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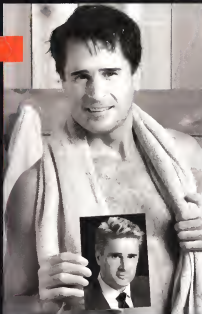
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CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE FEBRUARY 3, 1997 VOL. 102 NO. 4

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COVER PHOTO BY DAVID WILSON/AGENCE

COVER

THE 'LITTLE GUY' TO BEAT

Three new would-be successors to John Turner entered the race for the Liberal leadership. Toronto's John Man-wins and Montreal's Clifford Lincoln undertook to wage campaigns of principle. But it was Jean Chrétien's pre-ferred charm and passionate vision of Canada that caught the spotlight. His performance raised the question: Can anyone overtake the "little guy" from Shawinigan? — 22



BUSINESS

THE CONTRARIANS

A steady stream of black statistics in recent weeks has fuelled the pessimism of economists forecasting the end of a decade of prosperity. But an increasingly vocal group of "contrarians" is contesting that prediction. They claim that good times will continue throughout the 1990s. — 42



PHOTOGRAPHY

SHOOTING STARS

Douglas Kirkland has spent his career photographing Hollywood celebrities, including Marilyn Monroe and Sophia Loren. The *Fast Lane*, Guy, entire says that he always tries to get to know his subjects well, and has spent time eating, talking and, he hints, even having affairs with some of them. — 58



COVER PHOTO BY DAVID WILSON/AGENCE

LETTERS

CONCERN OVER NYSTROM CASE

I refer to the acquittal of Sushchukova 147 [Lars Nystrom on a smuggling charge ("Out at the shadows," *Canada*, Jan. 32)]. Can anyone who cannot remember where his keys are, who backs over his boyfriend, who cannot remember to pay for his item after removing it from a container, is a drug dealer, who puts it in his pocket and walks out, actually think himself capable of representing part of Canada in Ottawa?

William Clevenshuff,
Saskatoon



Nystrom questions of capability

When I was pulled over by a police officer for speeding, I apologized to the officer, explaining that I had a lot on my mind, that there was a lot of pressure on me at work and that I really was not trying to exceed the speed limit—I had merely neglected to observe my speedometer and had accidentally gone over the speed limit while I was thinking over an agenda for an upcoming meeting. My rate of speed had just slipped my mind. The police officer, ignoring my argument, told me to watch my speed and then proceeded to hand me a ticket. Caught red-handed. No contest. I wonder if I could have beaten the odds, kept my \$75 and gone a free man (with a clear conscience) had I been an honorable member of Parliament from Saskatchewan.

John Fischer,
Victoria

A DIFFERENT PROVINCE

In response to correspondent Nelson Buffet, I'd be hard to hypothesize that a majority of Quebecers support two official languages when Quebec allows French-only signs ("Settling off Canada," *Letters*, Jan. 32). It is still like to post and that we allow French-only signs throughout the province because we do not want the French language to disappear. If Buffet wants to visit us, he can be assured that the 92 per cent who endorsed two official languages in the *Micheline* [Devine poll] will assure him in English. We will probably enjoy being in a province different from the others.

Alvin Quenerville,
Laval, Que.

SOLVING THE WATER PROBLEM

Your bleak cover story "Danger in the water" (Jan. 13) focuses exclusively on pollution rather than prevention. Perhaps it is time for the media to review their role in environmental issues. What use is it to inform the public about the damage it does? Canada is one of the few developed coun-

tries that does not have a safe drinking water act. The mass of St. Louis on the Mississippi-Garfield border—where a mining company proposes to release known carcinogens into the drinking water supply of about 600,000 Winnipeg residents—emphasizes the need for protective national legislation.

Brian McCullough,
Winnipeg

Your article about "Danger in the water" were revealing and definitely haunting. But the main thrust in your coverage was on what has happened in the past—which is water rates is irreparable. Why not give some focus on how to prevent these catastrophes from happening in the future? I was worried about my children and grandchildren. What will they say about us if, because of our lack of caring, we leave them a poisoned water supply?

Ron Malabar,
Winnipeg

MISPLACED PRIORITIES

I find it more than ridiculous that the MacArthur foundation would give \$11.6 million to a "social scientist"—whatever that title could possibly imply—to learn about society's "late bloomers" ("Mid-life checkup," *Opening Notes*, Jan. 31). Who could even care about such a study? If this foundation has millions to give away, it should give it for environmental and wildlife assistance or for helping the poor—anything would make more sense than this questionable study of this nature.

Patricia Lennick,
Fargo/Minneapolis, Minn.

PASSAGES

DIED: Glamorous actress Ana Gardner, 57, one of Hollywood's biggest box-office attractions in the 1950s, of pneumonia, in her London home. Gardner made 59 movies during her 44-year career, but was better known for her story-offscreen life than for her starring roles in the 1953 adventure *Macarena*, and *The Barefoot Contessa* (1954). With *Macarena* playwright Gardner had two bad marriages, to actor Mickey Rooney and husband Arthur Shaw, before marrying Frank Sinatra in 1961. After they divorced in 1967, Gardner, who said that she was shy person, returned to her strong, had well-publicized romances with fellow actors Howard Hughes and actor George C. Scott.



BORN: A 74-in. girl, to Parliament Prime Minister Bennett Branta, 36, and her businessman husband, Neil A. Zander, 36, in a Karachi hospital. Branta, whose son was born two months before her November, 1984 election, at the first birth of government to give birth in office.

MINTED: Retired U.S. air force Major Richard Seard, 56, a key middleman in the Iran-contra arms scandal, to two years probation for perjury, for federal district judge Andrew Robinson Jr. Seard said when he testified about former White House aide Oliver North's role in the scandal.

MARRIED: British actor John Hart, 56, announced for his starring role in the 1980 cop *The Elephant Man*, and American

Jo Uchino, 38, a movie production assistant, in a civil ceremony in London.

MARRIED: Actress Roseanne Barr, 37, star of the popular TV comedy series *Roseanne*, and comedy writer Tom Arnold, 34, four days after he completed a month-long sobriety-alcohol program, in a civil ceremony at Barr's Bel-Air, Calif., home.

SUED: Actor William Shatner, 56, best known as Capt. James T. Kirk in the Star Trek TV show and sci-fi movie, for \$3.45 million by former medical assistant Vera Morley, 25, in Los Angeles. Morley's attorney said claims that she had a five-year relationship with the Montreal-born Shatner, beginning in 1984, and that she gave up her career for his promise to support her and divorce her. Her claim, claims Mary LaBerty.

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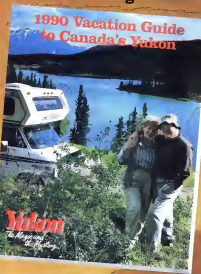
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Bill and Gloria Blevins
Toronto, Ontario

OPENING NOTES

Bill Bradley makes an early score, Pierre Trudeau sharpens his pen, and Salman Rushdie speaks from the shadows

RE-ENTERING THE ARENA

During the past three years, Pierre Trudeau has made several visits from a justly awarded private life in Montreal to deliver ringing denunciations of the March 14 constitutional accord. And the former prime minister is likely to become even more visible—and vocal—as the June deadline for ratifying the pact draws closer. For one thing, Trudeau has scheduled speeches in Montreal and Toronto that are tied to the March release of *Trudeau's A Quiet Victory: The Trudeau Years*, a book that he and former aide Thomas Axworthy have edited together. Penguin Books Canada Ltd. had originally planned a



Trudeau more visible and vocal

fall, 1990, release for a collection of political essays that, according to Senator Keith Dorney, was spearheaded by the former Liberal leader John Turner to celebrate the professor's record against Tory attacks. But the publication of works by such Trudeau-era figures as former cabinet minister Marc Lalonde had no bearing—in part, say Liberals close to the project, because Trudeau wanted to sharpen an attack on March 14 in his essay. The book, which is now scheduled to appear during the race for the Liberal leadership, also contains an essay by one of the leading reformers for that party, Jean Chrétien. And while the book's effect on that race and the March 14 accord is hard to predict, its placement in the debate underlines a lesson that Trudeau seems to have learned during a 35-year tenure as prime minister: timing is everything.

Reports from the underground

Iranian leader Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini imposed a death sentence on Salman Rushdie almost one year ago—on the grounds that Rushdie had blasphemed Islam in his novel *The Satanic Verses*. That threat has forced Rushdie into a clandestine existence marked by frequent moves from one secret location to another, but the British author still rejects charges that *The Satanic Verses* offended Islam. Indeed, a spokesman for his publisher has acknowledged that Rushdie is urging Viking Press to issue a paperback version of the controversial novel. Still, the accused *Satanic Verses* author has clearly had a chilling effect, as other Muslim writers acknowledge their fear about facing a similar fate. Toronto-born novelist Yasmin Zafar, for one, is the author of *Tell Me a Story about the Atom*, a children's book that uses cartoons to depict Islam



Rushdie: frequent moves after a death sentence

from the Islamic holy book. But last week, Zafar showed his Publishers' Club card to withdraw the book after Toronto's Supreme Islamic Council said that it violated a Muslim ban on pictorial depictions of God. Art may not always contain life.

SCANDAL IN HIGH PLACES

A \$207-per-night hotel room has become the latest scandal attraction in Washington. According to *Vista Hotel* manager Rex Rice, hundreds of would-be guests have telephoned to reserve Room 727 following the Jan. 12 arrest of Washington Mayor Marion Barry for allegedly smoking crack cocaine in that room. Indeed, a firm that offers bus tours of scandal sites, including the Capital Hill bar where police arrested Barry, has advertised the *Vista Hotel* as its route. Scandalizing might have taken a new turn.



De Gaulle (left), Lévesque: heated debate and a fateful visit in 1967

THE STREETS THAT DIVIDE A CITY

When Montreal city councilors reacted to Bonaventure Boulevard as a honor of the Quebec premier, René Lévesque, the 1968 change led to a heated debate in some parts of the city. Indeed, residents of largely anglophone Westmount succeeded in removing the old name for the section of the street that runs through their neighborhood. Now, a civic committee that names—and re-names—streets and squares is facing another controversial issue: how to mark the 100th

anniversary of the birth of Prince's Charles de Gaulle. In that case, the St. Jean Baptiste Square is arguing the advantage to rename Sherbrooke Street, a central thoroughfare that the French leader used during a 1967 visit to city hall. There, he electrified the country by shouting "Vive le Québec libre." Montreal's French columnist Jack Tardif has called the Sherbrooke Street proposal "a culturally bad idea," but to Montrealsers it's a familiar experience: a battle over signs.



House of Commons: a rough ride on cigarettes

Smoke gets in your eyes

Oppose's leading stance against smoking on the membership of simply suffering the air in the Parliament buildings. A recent post has an cigarette smoking in a room is often said a week includes such famous names as private affairs Supreme Court Justice John Sopinka recently announced the new anti-smoking rules on Jan. 23 when he attended a Hill reception for several members of the Toronto Blue Jays, among them slugger Fred McGriff and pitcher Todd Stottlemyre. There, in the Railway Committee Room, Sopinka lit up a large cigar and walked away for several minutes before James Watson, the communications director for Commons Speaker John Fraser, asked him to leave the fire. "Recalled Watson: "He is probably still wondering who I was. When I said he was not allowed to smoke here, he chuckled and put it out." Still, many officials say that smokers in the House of Commons will improve only by delaying a pending smoking ban on all flights by Canadian air carriers until June 30. Transport Minister Ron B. St. Laurent had planned to introduce the ban last December, but his tobacco-smoking colleagues said that both smokers and airlines needed more time to prepare for a new ban on flights but out.

More cracks in the Iron Curtain

Magway's shift towards a market economy paved another milestone last week: Rupert Murdoch became a major figure in that country's press circuit. The Australian-born media tycoon spent \$4.8 million to buy half-shares in two publications: *Informa*, a weekly newspaper with a circulation of 490,000, and *Max Nap* (*The Sun*), a daily with a circulation base of 100,000 readers. And observers in the desert say that the new acquisitions should be easily into Murdoch's press empire: the two tabloids are already considered to be among the most sensationalist newspapers in Eastern Europe.

RAILWAY SIGNALS FROM THE PAST

The last freight train rumbled along Newfoundland's narrow-gauge tracks in the fall of 1958, but signs on St. John's city buses still proclaim, "This bus stops at all railway crossings." In fact, the vehicles no longer stop before the defunct railroads, and the general manager of the city's Metrobus transit system, William Thorne, said that the company had been slow to remove the signs because the procedure cost a good job. Still, on Prince Edward Island, where train service stopped last December, St. John's Island's buses carry similar signs—and they there. Sold out spokesman Brown says, "We stop because that is still the law as far as I know. We haven't had a letter from the railway to tell us not to." Old habits can be hard to break.

AN EARLY LEAD IN A LONG RACE

George Bush has barely completed his first year as the 41st President, but he has already won a victory over his opponent, Bill Bradley, in the 1992 presidential election. Indeed, a recent poll of key Democrats, the chairman of the party organization in the 50 states and the District of Columbia, revealed that most of them wanted Bill Bradley, the senior senator

from New Jersey, to run against Bush. Bradley, 48, a former Rhodes Scholar who played 10 years for the National Basketball Association's New York Knicks, outperformed all other candidates as New York state Gov. Mario Cuomo and Sen. Senator Lloyd Bentsen. Still, the web site forward displayed some disturbing news: about 75 percent of the voters said that it was too early to decide if he would enter the 1992 race. Presumably, he is waiting to see how many tickets he can sell.



Bradley: number 1 in a key poll



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AN AMERICAN VIEW



The race factor in a brutal killing

BY FRED ARMIG

Boston is one of America's best cities—great, good-looking, loaded with energy, pride and sophistication—and, these days, one of its most fertile. As so often in the case in this country, racial conflict is the quality. Diversity is our strength and substance, yet the essence of the American ideal, but try as we might, we cannot sever the demons of prejudice and suspicion that poison the nation's public experience. The trouble is not confined to Boston—or to New York or Los Angeles or the back roads of Mississippi. The trouble is everywhere.

Whether a suburbanite spared Charles Stuart pondered the nature of American race relations while plotting his actions or of little importance. If, as now seems likely, he was guilty of killing his pregnant wife and implicating an innocent black man, Stuart deserves no further consideration. He simply was a fellow who went twenty-seven years as a coarse and corrupt individual whose options were a life of effort, a career for nothing. When he jumped from Boston's Tobin Bridge to his death last month it meant that we—not Stuart—would have to cope with the results. We would have to live again and again the details of his heinous story and calculate its damage and try to avert its course.

Chuck and Carol Stuart were an impressive twosome—in 29, she 30, a "Camelot couple," as the words of one newspaper. Within 10 years, Chuck had gone from third-order cook to manager at a far take, where he earned more than \$100,000 annually. Carol was an attorney at a publishing house. Attractive and appealing, the Stuaarts were also strong enough to afford a home in the desirable community of Roslindale, outside Boston, as well as the requisite amenities—car garage, Jacuzzi, swimming pool, the works. In December, their first child was expected. It was as though Chuck and Carol Stuart had been chosen poster couple for the American dream.

Boston's black leaders want to know why no one doubted a white man's story that a black man shot him and killed his wife

All seemed perfectly in place on Oct. 23 when the Stuaarts attended a children's class at Brigham and Women's Hospital in Boston's Mission Hill district, a diverse and usually integrated community. But, on the way home, the whitehead struck and Camellot flew apart with scolding speed. According to the gripping initial account provided by Chuck, as his car spun, a ground-level black man in a jogging suit burst upon them as they waited at a traffic light. The assistant ordered them to a deserted area, where he took their money and jewelry. Then, Stuart said, he opened fire.

As Stuart reconstructed the attack, the black man shot Carol and then turned the gun on him. But, said Stuart, he "backed" and was hit in the abdomen—a painful and dangerous wound but one he would survive. Carol was not so fortunate. Although doctors were able to save her briefly by performing a caesarian section, Carol died hours later. Two-and-a-half weeks later, the infant, Christopher, was gone, too. At his wife's funeral, Chuck, still recovering, asked a friend to read a parting message to Carol that said, in part, "Good night, sweet love, my love."

The case electrified Boston and the nation. Here, a serialist, was Boston's version of the

Central Park paper model—more proof that when America was a war zone and that, from a white perspective, blacks amounted to an enemy army. Racial animosity had long been a source of civil unrest in Boston, and the attack on the Stuaarts pushed every button. Police pursued the case with what blacks now say was peculiar determination and sometimes kindred means. Critics blame the media for leading the public frenzy far beyond the details of responsible journalism. Politicians got into the act, as they always do, knowing justice would be done.

When word began circulating that Chuck Stuart had identified a suspect, many assumed the ugly affair nearly was over. As a culprit, William Bennett came with outstanding credentials. He had been to jail more than once and there were accounts—later retracted—that Bennett had acknowledged shooting the Stuaarts. One expert even said Bennett intended to kill only Chuck and that Carol's death was a mistake. The suspect stubbornly maintained his innocence, however, and authorities hesitated to make formal charges. But there was a sense that William Bennett was the bad guy Boston had been looking for.

Then, quickly, everything changed. Hearing that a suspect had been named, Matthew Stuart, Chuck's younger brother, contacted police on Jan. 3 and cleared his conscience. Soon, a new version of the murder was circulating—saying that Chuck had killed Carol and murdered Matthew while the cops lay later, Chuck took his final plunge into Boston Harbor. Police cleared William Bennett, and Boston was buzzing with stories about Chuck's plans for opening a restaurant with insurance money, and about an earlier plot to kill Carol, and about his eye for a younger woman. And one children's "This was not the Chuck I knew. It must be another Chuck. It must have been a Chuck with a sick thing inside him."

Blacks are not about to let the matter drop so easily. They still want to know why Chuck Stuart's account wasn't tested more aggressively, why police, press and politicians allowed themselves to be swayed for so long, why dozens of black men were harassed during the investigation, and why the power structure tried to avenge a white suburbanite thus crime against blacks often seem to occasion

Some of the complaints can be answered, at least in part. Police and public officials found Stuart's word—and his dramatic firsthand account—increasingly convincing. Reporters and editors cannot be expected to ignore a story of such dimensions, and perhaps simply are not equipped to do groundbreaking detective work on their own. And covering crime in the black community can be tricky if, as sometimes happens, minority leaders accuse the press of putting too much emphasis on black criminals. But so because a legitimate minority crime must contend with a white crime, and the Stuart episode claims that would put justice on their own. Who can seriously argue that response to the crime would have been the same had Carol Stuart not been killed? If it was "another Chuck" who killed his wife, it was a familiar America that accepted his lie.

Fred Armig is a writer with *Harvard* in New York.

DEADLOCK OVER MEECH

VANDER ZALM'S 'CANADA CLAUSE' FAILS TO RELIEVE THE CONTINUING IMPASSE OVER THE CONSTITUTION

For almost a week, the anticipation built over British Columbia Premier Wayne Vander Zalm's Jan. 27 announcement that he had a plan to use the Meech Lake constitutional accord, far discussed his proposals by telephone with Prime Minister Brian Mulroney. Then, he sat across to the other premier and the leaders of the five territorial governments. Last week, Vander Zalm made his five-point strategy public. Among his recommendations: expanding the controversial clause requiring Quebec as a "distinct society" to apply to each of Canada's provinces and territories, and applying the accord up and passing it in two parts, starting with those regions that do not require the approval of all provinces under the Constitution. "It provides a framework within which a win-win solution can be found," said the premier, who signed the accord in 1987 but now calls it "unacceptable to the people of British Columbia." But Vander Zalm's 13 plan now misaligned and inadequate, according to Mulroney's Minister of Indian Affairs, Mulroney. "It provides a framework within which a win-win solution can be found," said the premier, who signed the accord in 1987 but now calls it "unacceptable to the people of British Columbia." But Vander Zalm's 13 plan now misaligned and inadequate, according to Mulroney's Minister of Indian Affairs, Mulroney.

The next day, just hours before Vander Zalm and his wife, Lilian, flew to Yagoups for a two-week trade mission, the premier said that Quebec's rejection of his plan meant that his initiative had failed and that the Meech Lake accord itself was doomed. "If they cannot buy

this proposal," Vander Zalm said, "it is dead." But the accord's backers clearly were not giving up. Ontario Premier David Peterson planned to visit Quebec to deliver a support speech next week to underline his support. And Senator Lowell Murray, the federal minister responsible for solving the Meech Lake impasse, said that Ottawa is still hoping to craft what has become known as a parallel accord—a separate document that would leave the Meech Lake agreement established—to accommodate some concerns of the dissenting provinces.

Still, with the June 23 deadline for ratification by all the provinces now just five months away, Mulroney and New Brunswick remain firmly opposed to passing the accord unless fundamental changes are made. Newfoundland Premier Clyde Wells has also threatened to rescind his province's agreement unless the agreement is renegotiated. But Mulroney continues to insist that the accord represents the absolute maximum for which Quebec will settle. The Quebec premier has rejected outright changes proposed by New Brunswick Premier Francis McCreery, Mulroney and Wells that, among other things, would make any laws enacted to protect Quebec's distinct society directly subject to the Charter of Rights and Freedoms. And Mulroney noted that a parallel accord would leave the same provisions at the original point: provinces could withdraw their support during a lengthy ratification process.

Indeed, the apparent deadlock has created an atmosphere of gloom in the Prime Minister's Office. Said one aide: "I used to be convinced that we would grow a lot more deals. Now, I'm very pessimistic." The 65 proposed changes did little to help. When asked by a reporter whether Vander Zalm's so-called Canada clause to give all provinces and territories distinct soci-



Mulroney (left) with Wells announced changes.

ety status was a good idea, Mulroney laughed along with several reporters nearby and responded, somewhat sarcastically, "I think it's terrific." Later, his office issued a statement saying that the Prime Minister had not laughed at Vander Zalm's idea, but had misunderstood the reporter's question. That explanation apparently satisfied Vander Zalm. "I'm not angry," he said, "because Mulroney explained he was laughing about something else."

Meanwhile, Vander Zalm's proposals received mixed reviews from constitutional experts. Edmond McWhinney, for one, a constitutional law professor at Simon Fraser University in Vancouver, praised the idea of passing into law those parts of the accord not requiring unanimity. Under the amendment provisions of the 1982 Constitution, some fundamental changes require the approval of Ottawa and all 10 provinces. But other amendments can be made with the approval of just seven of the provinces as long as they include 50 per cent of the Canadian population. As a result, Vander Zalm proposed that the Meech Lake provisions con-

cerning areas such as the distinct society clause, immigration and the limits on federal spending powers—more than half of the accord—could be proclaimed by June 23, even without the approval of the holdout provinces.

But the rest of the accord—dealing with changes to the Supreme Court of Canada and the amending formula—still needs unanimous approval. According to Vander Zalm's proposal, the dissenting provinces would pass those clauses after Canada's 11 legislators ratified his so-called Canada clause and a further constitutional amendment committing the country to "fundamental and comprehensive" results before June 23, 1992.

Following that, the B.C. premier proposed, the First Ministers would negotiate an additional constitutional agreement on equality for women, bilingualism, property and minority language rights. The deadline for that agreement would be June 23, 1993. Said McWhinney: "If Meech fails, the federal government, just for damage control, will have to go through very much the sort of process as Vander Zalm is suggesting." But experts advising the federal and Ontario governments say that it would be constitutionally improper to pass the accord in fragmented parts.

Meanwhile, uncertainties over Meech Lake within Canada's business community became more apparent. One group of 117 business leaders and former government officials held

an Ottawa news conference a day after the accord. Among the supporters: former Ontario attorney general Roy McMurtry, former Conservative Paul Desmarès and Montreal Canadiens general manager Serge Savard. But when the Business Council on National Issues (BCNI), an organization of 150 leading Canadian chief executive officers, issued a news release calling on Ottawa and the provincial governments to resolve their differences, it revealed a full-blown endorsement of Meech Lake. According to a government official involved in constitutional negotiations, organization president Thomas d'Aquino had tried to get a consensus among its member firms in support of the accord—but failed. "There are varying degrees of reservation," d'Aquino told *Maclean's*. "But you tell me if there will be any Canadian who will be happy if we have constitutional deadlock coupled with a monsoon and a lot of bitterness."

Peterman's campaign to break the impasse moves to Quebec City, where he is to make a major speech on Feb. 6.

According to one Ontario-based, Mulroney and Mulroney are central to the pre-Meech strategy because Mulroney and Mulroney have lost too much credibility with Canadians to mount an effective defence of the accord. Indeed, noting that Mulroney's political stock plummeted in Quebec Canada after the 1988 election, the author of the 1988 Constitution in order to construct the use of English as a commercial sign in Quebec in December, 1988, the official said that Ottawa has agreed Quebec to offer a conciliatory gesture to the rest of the country. One not to be confused with the officials suggested that Mulroney agree to a constitutional amendment restricting the scope of the notwithstanding clause.

But Newfoundland's Wells has also earned his message—anti-Meech—made Quebec. On Jan. 19, he gave a luncheon speech at the Canadian Club in Montreal—banned at the head table by former prime minister Pierre Trudeau, former Trudeau cabinet ministers Marc Lalonde and Donald Johnston, and ex Charles Caccia—all presenters Meech has. But at the Atlantic in the debate atmosphere, many of the officials in the room said they could be tempted to reach the same conclusion as the accord's prospects as Vander Zalm voiced last week.

PAUL KABELA with JOHN FORD in Victoria and BRUCE WALLACE in Ottawa

National Notes

ONTARIO CRIME SPREE

Three Ontario police officers ended what police reported a suspected killer and raped in a stolen car near South St. Mary, Peter John Proulx, 24, of London, Ont., faces more than two dozen charges arising from a crime spree across southern Ontario over the week. Among the incidents under investigation: the strangulation death of a woman in London, the fatal beating of a man in Toronto, the abduction of another woman in St. Catharines to Paris, 90 km to the west, where she was raped and stabbed, and the threatened of a woman with a butcher knife at her farmhouse near Paris.

SUING OVER TOWNS

Three English professors, testifying in a \$200-million lawsuit against U.S. publisher Litton/Lucas in Calgary, are conflicting opinions over whether the Book children in Lucas's book series *Star Wars* series were similar to the small, furry Ewoks in a script co-written by Dan Prentiss of Calgary. In his suit against Lucas, Litton/Lucas Ltd. and 32nd Century Fox Canada Ltd., Prentiss claims that Lucas stole the idea for the Book children from a script that he submitted in 1978.

OUT ON THE TABLE

Prime Minister Michael Wilson tabled legislation in the Commons to initiate his controversial seven-year-old Goods and Services Tax (last January) Opposition Liberals and New Democrats vowed to delay passage of the bill as long as possible. However, Minister Jean Chrétien said that having would leave the month for the hundreds of officials required to administer the new tax.

SEND ACCUSATIONS

It was an apparent move that there will be an internal review into allegations that the RCMP have tried to assist extremist operations against Senator Michel Gagné. Gagné, a personal friend of Prime Minister Jean Chrétien, has been under review since an investigation in connection with Senate conduct of external regulations.

CHARGES AGAINST ARBOR

Charges of fraud and strong forged documents were laid against a 30-year-old, 1988, Ontario-born, American-born, who is currently facing five charges related to alleged misuse of Senate funds. Angus was charged in Ottawa with submitting false travel expenses and forged travel-expense claim forms.

Vander Zalm: Meech 'is dead'



Breach of the code

The 10th Tory cabinet minister steps down

Jean Charest got an early start. In 1984, barely 36, he was elected to the House of Commons to represent his home town of Sherbrooke, Que. Two years later, just six days after his 28th birthday, Charest was appointed minister of youth, making him the youngest person ever to hold a federal cabinet post in Canada. And in March, 1988, the family-friendly, curling-brother-in-law additional responsibility as the minister of state for business and consumer sport. But last week, Charest suddenly stumbled off the political fast track. In an uncharacteristic lapse in judgment, Charest, telephoned Quebec Superior Court Justice Yves Macreola on Jan. 29 to discuss evidence in a case before Macreola's court. The next day, Charest was no longer a member of the federal cabinet.

The crisis erupted while Charest, 31, was in Auckland to represent Canada at the opening of the Commonwealth Games. Confused with reports of his telephone call, Charest originally insisted that he had done nothing wrong. But within hours, he began to acknowledge his error. "I did nothing morally wrong," he maintained, "but it is clearly a breach of the code of conduct." And he faxed his resignation to Ottawa. There, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney accepted it with a promise that stood in stark contrast to his stubborn defence of other Conservative ministers who have been accused of indiscretions and conflicts of interest since the party took power in 1984. But Mulroney also softened the blow with a clear suggestion that the boyish Quebecer might find his way back into the cabinet after a period of political penance. Mulroney's letter saying Charest's resignation was, in part, "a rare lesson in a valued minister, and I know you will have occasion to render great service in the future."

For the present, however, Charest will be left to contemplate the military chain of events that led to last week's humiliation. It had its beginning in a legal disclaimer: a truck-and-field coach, Daniel St-Hilaire of Montreal, against the Canadian Truck and Field Association. St-Hilaire was appointing a CITA decision to exclude him from the Canadian coaching staff in Auckland in favor of Toronto-based coaches who, he claimed, had less experience. On Jan. 28, Macreola was presented with two

letters that had been written by Charest from his Auckland hotel and sent to Montreal by fax machine. The first, addressed to St-Hilaire's lawyer, Daniel Gossé, stated that Charest had spoken in favor of St-Hilaire to the Commonwealth Games Association of Canada and that the association had agreed to endorse St-Hilaire if he was named. But the second letter, addressed to the coach's lawyer, Jean Lapierre, seemed to reverse the first, suggesting that only a favorable ruling would guarantee St-Hilaire a role in Auckland. Then,



Charest: contravening guidelines with a call to a judge

around headline the same day, and at the request of the CITA, Charest placed a telephone call to Macreola's office, apparently to offer a clarification of the judge's record. Once he realized who was calling—and why—Macreola sharply ended the conversation. But the incident became public when Macreola, in the course of rendering a decision in favor of St-Hilaire, referred to Charest's phone call. Reporters at the courtroom quickly passed that information to Liberal MPs Stan Keyes of Brampton and Jean Lapierre, the former Liberal sports minister from the riding of Sherbrooke. At 7:30 p.m. the same day, the two opposition MPs held a news conference and demanded that Charest resign. In Auckland, Charest initially brushed aside those demands: "What else do you expect from the opposition?" he chided reporters. But by the time the 2 p.m. Question Period began in the House of Commons the next day, Mulroney had spoken to Charest by telephone and had his resignation. Just when Liberal Leader John Turner raised the issue, the Prime Minister immediately announced that Charest was out of the cabinet.

In fact, according to one senior Mulroney adviser, the Prime Minister did not spend long over Charest's fate. The decisive factor: cabinet guidelines first established by former prime minister Pierre Trudeau in March, 1976, after an earlier controversy involving telephone calls to judges by three Liberal cabinet members—Maurice Landry, Paul Dwyer and Jean Chrétien, who last week announced his candidacy for the Liberal leadership. In Charest's case, he placed to ask a judge when he placed to make a court decision regarding one of Charest's commitments. But the most controversial was that of late-Minister of Public Works Dwyer. Dwyer approached a judge on behalf of Quebec MP André Ouellet, then-minister of consumer and corporate affairs. Ouellet had been cited for contempt of court after he questioned the sanity of a judge who had acquitted three major companies of price-fixing charges. Dwyer asked the judge handling Ouellet's case whether an apology might end the matter. When his action became known, Dwyer offered his resignation, but Trudeau did not accept it. Instead, he outlined a new code of behavior that clearly stated that no cabinet member could communicate with members of the judiciary on matters before the court, except through the minister of justice. Last week, Mulroney applied Trudeau's guideline to Charest's action.

Well that, Charest became the 10th Mulroney minister to resign amid controversy. But in Sherbrooke, where he still spends most weekends with his wife and three young children, his supporters remained confident that their young MP's career would get back on track quickly. On the day of his resignation, callers flooded an opposition radio program to express sympathy for Charest. Observed Claude Ducey, editor of the daily *Sherbrooke Phoenix*: "I'm sure that before the new season, Jean will be back in the cabinet." And as Ouellet's example demonstrated, Charest would not be the first politician to recover his momentum after an ill-considered telephone call.

BRIAN BEEHMAN with LISA RAY DODSON
in Ottawa and JEFFREY CAME in Montreal

Shock Absorbers.



A devastating earthquake struck California and Maclean's had an editorial team there within hours, a team that included Photo Editor Peter Bregg, Vancouver Bureau Chief Hal Quinn, and Washington correspondent Henry Mackenzie.

The assignment: absorb the myriad facts and feelings, the images and the impact—from San Francisco to Santa Cruz—and bring the stories home to you.

The result: our cover package "Shock And Aftershock" provided comprehensive on-the-spot coverage with perspectives and photos found nowhere else.

Maclean's

THE WELL-INFORMED CHOICE.

A question of style

A new sincerity brings charm to Rideau Hall

For residents of the leafy Ottawa neighborhood of New Edinburgh, the most visible symbol of sovereign power is a subtle one: a black oval gate. The gate appeared on the entrance to the grounds of 153-year-old Rideau Hall in 1986 at the instruction of its principal tenant: then-Governor General Jeanne Savard. Her action, taken in order to improve security, ended a century of free public access to the 85-acre park that surrounds the viceregal mansion, leading to letter complaints from New Edinburgh residents. But on Jan. 28, Savard drove through those gates for the last time as Governor General and, as of this week, Rideau Hall has a new owner. On Jan. 29, in a ceremony laced with tradition, former Conservative cabinet minister Roman Joshi Hnatyshyn was to be sworn in as her replacement. And Hnatyshyn, 55, has turned privately that he would respect the gates. That fence-marking gesture would signal what is likely to be a marked change in viceregal style.

Indeed, Hnatyshyn's veterans say that the affable former lawyer from Saskatchewan has the qualities necessary to become the most admired Governor General since Georges Vanier, who served from 1959 to 1967. Critics, however, have called attention to Hnatyshyn's lack of family as French as a significant blemish in his role as a symbol of Canadian nationhood. Still, during 14 years representing his home town as a member of Parliament for Saskatchewan West, Hnatyshyn won the affection and respect of political colleagues and opponents alike with his folksy style, self-deprecating sense of humor and respect for his duty. By contrast, Savard, 67, a former journalist and Liberal MP for Laval-des-Rapides, acquired a reputation for aloofness and extravagance during her six years in office.

Officials arranged for Hnatyshyn's swiftness to feature all the trappings of viceregal office. They provided three guards of honor and three military bands to salute the incoming viceregal, as CF-18 fighter jets roared overhead in a salute and three choirs serenaded the Hnatyshyns. A horse-drawn quad was available to transport the new Queen's representative and his wife, Gordie, from Parliament Hill—where Hnatyshyn will be sworn in by Supreme Court Justice Antonio Lamer in a ceremony in the red Senate chamber—also Rideau Hall. With that, Hnatyshyn becomes the 34th Governor General since Confederation—the seventh Canadian-born.

He will be the 41st representative in Canada of a European monarch in an embolism: like that done from Samuel de Champlain, who became governor of New France in 1642.

In theory, Hnatyshyn's office has formidable powers. As the Queen's representative, Hnatyshyn performs her role in the constitutional

head of state of Canada and commander-in-chief of the Armed Forces, empowered to veto legislation or dissolve Parliament well that, in practice, his office is mostly ceremonial. Still, it is a public platform without equal. On Jan. 1, in one of her last public statements as Governor General, Savard took advantage of her position



Hnatyshyn and wife Gordie: he hopes to promote unity

and to make a long-standing tradition of viceregal neutrality on political issues—no urge. Candidates to accept the Mitroch Lake constitutional accord, saying that he will use his office to promote national unity and environmental issues.

But he may be limited in that campaign by his inability to speak or read French. Still, Terry New, a veteran Tory organizer and close friend of Hnatyshyn, said that the new Governor General has been studying French. He

said, "I'm not suggesting that Ray will ever be fully bilingual, but you will see a definite improvement."

As for style, Rideau Hall is certain to become less formal under the Hnatyshyns. "Savard is reserved," said Liberal MP Brian Tobin. "Rayna much more down-to-earth." Former Seattle town mayor, now Liberal Senator Sidney Blackwell recalled Hnatyshyn's impromptu chats when they lived in the same Saskatoon neighborhood some years ago. One of Hnatyshyn's two sons—John, now 40, and Carl, now 17—delivered newspapers. Blackwell recalled, and occasionally the future viceregal arrived at the door collecting for the Star-Journal. Later, as government House leader from 1984 to 1986 and justice minister from 1986 to 1988, Hnatyshyn was five weeks for political during but high regard for his interest. Said Maurice Pélissier, a Liberal MP since 1960: "You always felt that you were dealing with a gentleman."

For Ottawa's anxious, the case stands for Savard as she left for Montreal, where she will head a new government-funded foundation bearing her name. Contributions of \$1.5 million from the federal, Quebec and Ontario governments will pay for several international conferences of youth-leaders. The government endorsement and the international focus of the new foundation reflect themes that brought Savard criticism as Governor General: she claimed that she traveled too much abroad—often with a large retinue, including a personal hairdresser—and too little in Canada.

As well, they questioned her strategy to increase the Governor General's budget—in 1988 from \$5.3 million in 1984—at a time when government was cutting spending. But Hnatyshyn clearly hopes that he become as the

Queen's representative in Canada will be money well spent. Last fall, the former cabinet minister set his own goal for his new job. His fondest hope, Hnatyshyn said, was that "five years hence, it will be said that I had some part in bringing greater unity to our country." It is an act of constitutional courage, he has said himself a difficult task.

MARK CLARK with LISA VAN DUSEN in Ottawa

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The problem with provincial, he thought as he made his way back to the plane, was that his machines were a bit thick on the ground. And hotel office wouldn't appreciate a message in a bottle. "Take me to the Hilton." Some time later, duty done, he relaxed on the bar and waited the sun go down as he waited for his companion to join him for dinner. He'd made the right choice. As usual about it. You can be sure. There's no place like home. And when you're away, there's no place like the Hilton. ☐ For reservations at over 400 hotels, call your travel agent, my Hilton hotel or Hilton Reservations Northridge 1 800 265 5275. In Toronto call 362 3771

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CANADA

The threat in the West

*The Reform Party mounts
a challenge to the Tories*

For many Albertans, it was a clear sign of their province's political volatility. As Preston Manning, 47, leader of the Reform Party of Canada, spoke in Red Deer last week during a 22-candidate provincial race, he demanded that Prime Minister Brian Mulroney appoint party member Sandra Watson—who won Alberta's unprecedented Oct. 18 Senate nomination election—to Parliament's upper house. And Manning attacked both the federal government's proposed seven-part cost-Share and Services Tax (sax) and the March Lake accord, saying that a majority of Albertans oppose both. But underlying those criticisms was a deeper threat. His vision rising with emotion, Manning asked his audience, "What-ever happened to the idea that Mr. Mulroney was supposed to represent the viewpoints of their constituents?" The widely held perception that politicians are not listening in Alberta has given a major boost to the Reform Party, transforming it into the leading challenge to Albertans' long-standing loyalty to Conservatives in Ottawa and Edmonton alike.

Manning's defiant words were vividly recalled. In Edmonton, the Conservative government of Premier Donald Getty is slumping in opinion polls, and Getty himself is the target of mounting criticism from within his own party. At the same time, prominent anti-London Mayor Martin and his Liberal counterpart, Lucienne Desautels—who recently underwent an operation to remove a cancerous tumor—have been largely unable to capitalize on Getty's political problems. At the federal level, many of Alberta's Conservative members of Parliament have been damaged by their defence of government policies. Last March, Reform candidate Deborah Grey became the party's first woman, winning a by-election in Beaver River, a new rural riding in an area that had been solidly Tory since 1958.

Then she followed by Watson's victory under the Reform banner seven months later. Since then, there have been signs that the erosion of Conservative support has created space. Need Keith Archer, a political scientist at the University of Calgary. "People are turning away from the Tories very quickly and in record numbers."

Indeed, there is growing evidence that the Tory grip on Alberta—the party holds 34 of Alberta's 38 federal ridings and 99 of the 88 seats in the provincial legislature—is weakening. When Albertans were asked about their federal political preferences in a poll conducted in late December by the Winnipeg-based As-

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THE 'LITTLE GUY' TO BEAT

JEAN CHRETIEN
RETURNS FOR HIS
SECOND RUN AT
THE LIBERAL
LEADERSHIP

The contrast in speaking styles was both deliberate and immediate. Standing stiffly at a podium at Ottawa's Château Laurier Hotel last week, Jean Chretien delivered an uncharacteristically restrained speech lacking all his campaigns for the federal Liberal leadership. Although the announcement had been planned for months, the carefully rehearsed Chretien shook to his seat and uttered some of his trademark wincing at his but a day later. Chretien, emboldened as his first official campaign foray to Quebec—a crucial appointment designed by Chretien's opponents in earlier negotiations that his opponent to the proposed March 14th constitutional amendment has cost him support in his home province. And as he bounded onto the stage in the ballroom of Montreal's Sheraton Centre Hotel, Chretien's contacts as a scrappy political street fighter took over: "I have fought all my life for justice," he declared in a passionate, 45-minute speech that was greeted by loud cheers from about 2,000 supporters.

Chretien, with his impressive return to the political scene last week, Chretien instantly overshadowed his rivals in the hotly contested race to succeed party leader John Turner. Four years after abandoning politics in the wake of a bitter dispute with Turner over control of the Liberal party's Quebec wing, Chretien, 56, demonstrated that he has lost none of his colorful charm and charisma—indeed, polls show that he remains one of the country's most popular and recognized political figures. Taking advantage of the current constitutional deadlock over March 14th, the self-styled "little guy" from Sherbrooke, Que., also staked out his position as an advocate of strong central government and as a proud federalist who will fight to preserve the rights of linguistic minorities. "We need leaders who say the same thing in all parts of the country, in both official languages," he declared.

Although Chretien did not mention any of the other leadership contenders by name, his remarks posed a clear challenge to the main



Chretien and his wife, Anne, staking out the proud federalist position

widely viewed as his principal rival for the Liberal crown, Montreal MP Paul Martin Jr. A relative newcomer to politics, Martin has courted Quebec support by calling for criticism of the March 14th constitutional accord—which would declare that province a "distinct society"—within Canada and transfer some federal powers to the provinces. Martin's stance is consistent with the position adopted by Turner. But outside Quebec, Martin's strategy involves considerable risks. Many die-hard party supporters view any expression of support for March 14th as a betrayal of their party's traditional commitment to federalism. "Liberals have always held strong central authority," said Martin Goldthorpe, the party's veteran pollster. "In my opinion, the advocates of March 14th are out of step with the value system of this party—and this country."

Privately, Martin's supporters acknowledged that Chretien had staged an almost flawless return to politics. "Let's not tell ourselves," said one adviser to the Montreal MP. "Chretien had a great launch." But

Martin's backers insisted that the ace for the leadership will be won in the Quebec—specifically, not about 1,200 of the 5,200 delegates who are expected to attend the Liberal's late June leadership convention in Calgary—and that only Martin is capable of generating widespread support in that province. "We have five months left to show that Paul is the candidate who can best represent the aspirations of modern Quebec," the strategist said. "Once we do that, delegates in English Canada will realize that he is the one who should lead the party."

At the same time, Martin appeared to be trying to shift the focus of the campaign to other issues, including economic policy and the environment. In a speech to law students at Dalhousie University in Halifax last week, the millimeter businessman called on his fellow Liberals to adopt policies that would encourage the growth of large, internationally competitive companies. "I know that some people are not comfortable with the idea of large corporations," he added. "But if we don't take charge of our own future, others will take charge of it for us."

Wealth. Along with Chretien, two other contenders also jumped into the race last week—in time to take part at a leadership forum in Toronto over the weekend. John Mouzakis, 35, a second-term MP from the heavily ethnic suburban Toronto riding of York South-Weston, said that he would campaign against March 14th and in favor of increased immigration. Mouzakis also attacked the party for setting the spending limit for leadership candidates at \$1.7 million (page 30). That limit, he declared, had "ruined the campaign to favor wealthy Canadians."

And Mouzakis promised that his own campaign would cost no more than \$750,000. Former Quebec environment minister Clifford Lincoln also renounced his candidacy in Montreal. Lincoln told reporters he wanted "to project a quality of life that will make Canada a more environmentally conscious society, a more just and equitable society, and a more peaceful and harmonious government."

The other declared candidates are Hamilton MP Sheila Copps, 37, the first woman to run for the federal Liberal leadership, and rookie Toronto-area MP Thomas Vaggel, 38, who, like Mouzakis, is an outspoken opponent of abortion (page 28).

But last week's candidly outgassed Chretien, relaxed and beaming following his Montreal debut, said: "Marcelle is that his years in the private sector—he helped open the Ottawa office of Laid, McInnes, a Bay Street law firm, and has worked as an adviser to Toronto-based investment company Gordon Capital Corp.—had given him time to recover from the stress and strains of 22 years in the House of Commons. 38 of them as a cabinet minister." "I needed a physical rest," Chretien said. "Today, I am relaxed and comfortable. I have matured and I have gained confidence."

In addition, Chretien is in much better shape physical-

ly: estimates of his annual income from his business ventures range from \$300,000 to \$400,000, compared with the \$75,000 he earned as an opposition MP in his last full year in the Commons. "It is a big sacrifice," said Chretien of his return to politics. "But nobody is forcing me to do it. I am very worried about the way things are going in Canada. We are losing our international personality. We are looking like an object of America's."

Alibi. Repeatedly last week, Chretien dismissed suggestions that his opposition to the March 14th accord—and, in particular, his rejection of special constitutional status for Quebec—would harm his chances in that province. Indeed, he insisted that his relationship with Quebec Premier Robert Bourassa, a vocal supporter of the pact, remains "personally cordial" despite their obvious philosophical differences. Declined Chretien: "If I call him, he will talk to me in five minutes." Asked the same question, "He is afraid of me, probably," Chretien quickly corrected that remark, perhaps wanting himself about as potential to antagonize the Quebec premier. "Not afraid," Chretien elaborated. "I read that he [Bourassa] thinks that we will go back to the Trudeau years, fighting all the time. That is not true."

In fact, Chretien has worked hard to attract support from Quebec Liberals who have publicly supported March 14th. Serge Pigeon, who served as a policy adviser to Turner when the outgoing Liberal leader decided to endorse the controversial accord, is now Chretien's close campaign in Quebec. Another pro-March supporter of Chretien is Paul Yocco, a prominent Quebec City lawyer and a defeated federal Liberal candidate in the 1986 general election. Said Yocco, who introduced Chretien at last week's Montreal rally: "I always said that the deal should have been adopted. But constitutional debates will always be with us. We will still continue to live off the deal deal."

And as another formidable demonstration of campaign muscle, Chretien's forces announced last week that they have the support of 31 of the 62 Liberal MPs and 24 senators (Martin's camp, by contrast, claims the support of only about a dozen MPs and senators). That support appeared to reward Chretien's unrelenting campaigning against the accord at the weeks before his campaign launch. In preparation for his challenge, Chretien has named private donors with groups of about a dozen MPs at a time at Joliffe's Theatre Club, a discreet Italian restaurant near Parliament Hill. Montreal MP David Targoff, for one, said that he introduced one of the donors because he was curious about Chretien's constitutional position. "At the time, I did not trust Chretien to follow his instincts," Berger told ABC News. "I knew what he was saying privately, but I was not sure where he stood publicly." In the end, it was not until Berger heard the candidate's unequivocal denunciation of the accord at a news conference at University of Ottawa law school on Jan. 16 that he joined the Chretien team.

Chretien's main asset, however, remains his enduring popularity among Canadians—in a way that has largely eluded his closest, earthy style and his self-deprecating sense of humor. The 19th of 19 children—only nine survived infancy—born to Marie-Benoit Chretien and a Swiss maid, Willie, the future politician grew up in a one-room section of Sherbrooke. By the age of 13, following



Mouzakis criticizing the spending limit

CANADIAN UNITY HAS BECOME THE MAIN ISSUE OF THE HOTLY CONTESTED RACE

the example of his father and paternal grandfather, he had joined the Liberals, leading out supporters at meetings and singing for the party at the local podium.

In 1957, across the end of his law studies at Laval University in Quebec City, Chretien earned his high-school sweetheart, Anne Charbon. The couple has three children, including an adopted son from Israel, N.M.T., and four grandchildren—the youngest of whom was born last week, six hours after Chretien officially entered the leadership race.

Folky: Throughout his career as a lawyer—he was his first federal election in 1963, when he was only 25—Chretien cultivated a public image as a street-smart populist who represented the interests of ordinary Canadians. But his folky style masked an innate political intelligence. Under former prime minister Pierre Trudeau, Chretien maneuvered his way into many of the most critical cabinet portfolios—including justice, finance and energy. "The art of politics is learning to walk with your back to the wall, your elbows high and a smile on your face," Chretien wrote in his best-selling 1982 autobiography, *Struggle from the Heart*. "I will not learn that, just as quickly as I should."

Chretien's associates say that he demands absolute loyalty from his followers—and can be bitter when he feels that he has been betrayed. Former Liberal cabinet minister Edward Levesque, a close friend and ally of Chretien's during the Trudeau era, learned that lesson when he supported Turner in the 1984 leadership race.

Scott Lumsley, now a director of Burns Fry Ltd., a Toronto brokerage firm, "Chretien was my teacher when I went to Ottawa, but after 1984 things were never the same between us. It is unfortunate. I had a very close friend." But Chretien's biggest potential weakness is



Goldfarb: advocates of Meuch Lake are 'out of step'

the lingering perception that he is a policy lightweight—capable of carrying out established programs, but not of formulating his own. It is an accusation that Chretien deeply resents. In an interview last week, he defended his unorthodox managerial style, including his penchant for one-page memos. "If you cannot put what you have to say in one page, in a

subfile it is because you do not understand what you are talking about." Later, he boasted that he had earned higher fees on the income earned than many other well-known Canadians, including Pierre Berton and Stephen Levesque. "I had to compete in that market," Chretien said proudly. "And they paid me more than the others—it was strict, pure competition." His reported fee: \$5,000 per appearance.

Still, Chretien has clearly learned from the mistakes of his unsuccessful 1984 leadership bid. Back then, critics noted disparagingly that he delivered virtually the same nationalist speech at every campaign stop—reports covering the candidate quickly dubbed it his "I love-Canada speech." This time, his campaign is again under the leadership of chairman John Rae (age 26). And Chretien's longtime adviser, Ottawa lawyer Edward Goldfarb, has assembled a team of 10 policy experts to brief the candidate and prepare a series of speeches on such issues as trade, the environment and foreign affairs. They also hope to rein in Chretien's tendency to lose his speeches with jokes. "He needs to show that he can be a serious man, not just an entertaining man," said former Liberal cabinet minister Mitchell Sharp, 78, Chretien's top biographer. "He has to sound prime ministerial."

Support: At the same time, Chretien's supporters say that his strong federalist views are certain to win favor among grassroots Liberals who disagreed with Turner's endorsement of the Meech Lake accord. Said Newfoundland air boss Tobin, a former Turner loyalist who now supports Chretien: "Jean Chretien's stand reflects the traditional view of the party." For her part, Manitoba Liberal Leader Sharon Carstairs, a longtime Chretien supporter, reinforced his call for stronger federal leadership. "Liberals have always been believers in strong central government," said Carstairs. "They want a government that is not afraid to make new



Martin outside Quebec, many party loyalists view support for Meuch Lake as a betrayal

national spending programs to ensure equal standards in every part of this country."

But not all Liberals applauded Chretien's performance during his first week of the campaign. Martin Kaufman, past president of the Manitoba Liberal party, said that he and many other westerners are wary of how and where the candidate has any specific proposals to give the West a greater say in federal decision-making. And Kaufman dismissed Chretien's suggestion that the current constitutional stalemate could be resolved in the same way that a driver dislodges a car from a snowbank—"you just go forward, backward, for-

ward, backward, and eventually you are back on the road," as Chretien said in Ottawa last week. Said Kaufman: "Chretien's analogy is insulting, but it is not good enough. Before he gets into the driver's seat, I would like to know where he is going."

Anger: And as Chretien raised the campaign heat, his acknowledged principal opponent displayed an increasing vocal presence. In Kingston, N.B., Martin angrily lambasted Chretien's approach to national unity, asserting that no leadership candidate had a monopoly on patriotism. "Every single leadership candidate speaks for Canada," he told Maclean's. "Any-

body who believes that they are going to build a country by crawling on Quebec has better think again."

Still, Martin's policies may be difficult to sell to a Liberal party extremely preoccupied by constitutional issues. His speeches so far have concentrated on his meritorious career: that Canada is becoming less competitive in an evolving world economy. To spur industrial expansion, Martin wants to establish a series of regional development funds that would spur private contributions to finance the growth of local businesses—especially those that specialize in environmental cleanup. But even Martin acknowledged that his message is neither catchy nor simple to explain.

Chretien, meanwhile, second considered that his call for a strengthened commitment to Canadian unity and strong central government was one that Liberals across the country would embrace. Referring to last \$1,000-a-night hotel rates on the 30th floor of the Sheraton Centre Hotel in Montreal last week, he spoke of the crowd's response as his speech the previous night. Said Chretien: "I could feel the pleasure, coming in waves in 1 spoke. The mood was very good—it was a great pleasure for these people to hear about Canada." If Chretien can manage to maintain the momentum he created last week, his campaign for the Liberal mantle could well prove unstoppable.

BONN LARSEN in Ottawa with E. JOSEF FETTON in Montreal and BRUCE MALLACE in Mexico

THE ROAD TO THE LEADERSHIP



- MAY 13, 1989**
Ann Turner announces that he is resigning
- JUNE 17**
Party executive picks Gregory the Ains, vice, leadership convention
- JUNE 29**
Scarborough first of Thomas Meuch victory is in
- SEPT. 20**
Official opening of race
- JAN. 15, 1990**
Hamilton first of Sheila Copps enters race
- JAN. 17**
Lester Board MP Paul Martin enters race Winnipeg South Centre MP Lloyd Axworthy enters race, once liability to race sufficient funds
- JAN. 23**
Former cabinet minister Jean Chretien enters race
- JAN. 24**
Tom Coughlin enters race John Burnside enters race
- JAN. 28**
An candidate from Toronto
- FEB. 10**
All candidates from Windsor, Whitehorse
- FEB. 12**
Selection in Quebec riding at Chantley
- FEB. 15**
First day for delegate selection meetings in Ontario
- MARCH 1**
First day for delegate selection meetings in east of country
- MARCH 4**
All candidates from Winnipeg
- APRIL 1**
All candidates from Winnipeg
- APRIL 15**
First day for delegate selection meetings in Ontario
- APRIL 22**
All candidates from Halifax
- MAY 21**
Last day for delegate selection meetings
- JUNE 4**
All candidates from Montreal
- JUNE 6**
Deadline for new candidates entering race
- JUNE 23**
Leadership race / Also deadline for submission of Meuch-Lake accord



BATTLING THE ODDS

SIX LIBERALS WITH HOPE IN THEIR HEARTS

While former Liberal cabinet minister Jean Chretien and first-term MP Paul Martin Jr. are the acknowledged heavyweights in the race to replace leader John Turner, six other politicians have either joined the race or indicated that they might. Threshold divides the campaign trail.

Shelia Copps As the most vocal member of the Liberal "Fat Frog"—a small group of MPs known for their aggressive Question Period attacks during the Conservative government's first term—Copps earned a reputation among her Tory opponents as a third left-hand. On the opening day of hearings by the parliamentary committee on free trade in 1987, Copps provoked Terry McWilliam, Conservative, a fellow committee member, even explaining a question affecting the steel industry by repeatedly talking over him. Frustrated by the interruptions, McWilliam cut her off. "You're interrupting me," he said, "and I'm interrupting you." The next day, McWilliam withdrew the remark. And soon recently, Copps acknowledges, she has been trying to moderate her own approach. She declined her candidacy for the Liberal leadership in Jan. 15 and, last week, campaigned on themes ranging from honesty in government to the elimination of poverty by the year 2000.

Thirteen is the 31-year-old MP for Hamilton East says that Copps's campaign will highlight her youth, gender and popular style. She has proven her appeal once before, finishing second to David Peterson in the Ontario Liberal leadership race in 1983. First elected to the Commons in 1984 after serving as the opposition leader in the Ontario legislature for three years, she shares custody of her two-year-old daughter with her second husband, from whom she recently separated. Copps says that she expects to attract many women delegates—who will not shirk all of the conservative beliefs. But the daughter of former Hamilton mayor Victor Copps has an uphill struggle against the powerful Chitlens and Martin forces in her home base of southern Ontario.

Still, Copps supporters say that their candidate, in answering Turner's question during the past six years, expects to attract many of the younger delegates who supported Turner at the 1984 leadership convention and 1988 leadership review convention. Scott Sheppard, for one, Turner's legislative adviser, has signed on as her campaign manager. But Copps, who is fluent in French and English, has already suffered an early setback. According to members of Copps's team, Liberal MP John Nantais had agreed to act as their Toronto organizer—a



Copps campaigning. Mills (below) highlighting youth, gender and a popular style

claim that Nantais doesn't—but then allowed her campaign last month to reveal the leadership race behind.

Doreen Johnston The former Trudeau cabinet minister boasts impressive credentials as a founder of the blue-city Montreal law

firm, former justice minister as Turner's short-lived government, and for her not ruled out running herself because "women's issues address the fact that the country is finally out of control." Johnston said that she would campaign on a platform to restructure social progress with an eye to deficit reduction.

Johnston quit the Liberal caucus in January 1988, to run as an Independent, a protest against her party's support for the accord, which she, predicts, would mean Quebec into a unilateral French-speaking province and weaken federal spending power. He declined to run for re-election in 1988, argued his old law firm and law in Montreal with his wife and one of his four daughters. Johnston has said that, if he decides to run, he would campaign on the support of Liberals he met while travelling the country

during the past two years speaking out against Meech Lake. But some of his old campaign friends from 1984 have advised him against running, warning that he could again go heavily into debt. Johnston ended his 1984 leadership bid \$200,000 in debt—although he quickly repaid it. Said Johnston: "I'm told that money will be no problem."

Clifford Lincoln The former Quebec environment minister has set himself a difficult task while campaigning for John Turner's job, he is also running in another political race—the Feb. 12 federal by-election in the Montreal-area riding of Chateaufort. Lincoln, 61, who officially joined the leadership race on Jan. 26, is presenting himself as a mediator who will be able to bridge the growing rift between English-speaking and French-Canadian. Indeed, Lincoln's career seems to bridge the country's two cultures. Born in Montreal, a small island in the Indian Ocean, Lincoln is a native speaker of both English and French. He emigrated to Canada in 1958, then co-founded a successful insurance firm and later was elected as a Liberal Quebec MP in 1981 after selling his business. In 1985, Premier Robert Bourassa appointed Lincoln environment minister—but he resigned that post three years later in protest against his own government's view on bilingual signs on storefronts. That stance, says Lincoln's wife, Lise, did not fit in with his own accident in 1986, and he remains a widower.

Lincoln, who sat out last year's general election, also supports environmental legislation with his strong influence of the Meech Lake accord. That stance has won him allies among Bourassa's critics in the Commons and in the Commons and among young Quebecers. Lise, 55, says Lincoln's campaign says that he has met with his strong influence of the Meech Lake accord. That stance has won him allies among Bourassa's critics in the Commons and in the Commons and among young Quebecers.

Doreen Mills The 36-year-old MP for Toronto's heavily ethnic riding of Broadview-Grangeview is a millionaire businesswoman who lives with her wife, Victoria, and four children in the city's upper-class Rosedale neighborhood. He is a 31-year-old woman who lives with her wife, Victoria, and four children in the city's upper-class Rosedale neighborhood. He is a 31-year-old woman who lives with her wife, Victoria, and four children in the city's upper-class Rosedale neighborhood.

close neighbors for wealthy Canadians. Mills, 43, a best known for his entrepreneurial prowess, both in business and politics. Between 1984 and 1986, he turned his family's modestly successful business—Toronto-based Chateau Mills, which rents furniture and other supplies to organizers of special events—into a major enterprise. He still owns 80 percent of the company, which had revenues in 1988 of \$15 million. But in 1986, Mills turned his attention to politics, signing on as then-

Canada's U.S. Free Trade Agreement and the Meech Lake accord—all of which he opposes. The former minister-in-waiting at City of York alderman clerked for a member of parliament. First elected to the Commons in 1984, Nantais, 35, was another member of the Liberal Rat Pack. Later, he was one of 22 Liberal MPs to sign letters calling for Turner's resignation in an April 1988 caucus revolt. The son of Italian immigrants, Nantais was born in British Columbia and last year married



Nantais conceding the Feb. 12 Chateaufort by-election in Quebec

Cecilia Brett, a Toronto health-care administrator. Nantais said that one of the reasons he will be to call for the phasing out of nuclear military facilities, which he calls "disarmament." "Let's stop hypochondria," said Nantais, who speaks more Italian and French. "It does not seem national duty." Although he is widely known as a dark horse, Nantais says that his candidacy will be helped by Italian, German and Sikh Liberals who agree with his views on multiculturalism. As well, he said that anti-nuclear groups are signing up Liberal members across the country and, Nantais added, he would likely split the support from delegates in that category with the other anti-nuclear candidates, Thomas Wappel, 54. Nantais developed the issue in his campaign kickoff, saying that he supported a free vote on abortion legislation. Meanwhile, he faces fierce competition from the well-known Chitlens, Martin and, to a lesser degree, Copps campaigns in his home base of Toronto.

Thomas Wappel Wappel has virtually no base in the Liberal party but never held political office before his election to the House of Commons in 1988, speaks little French and has limited campaign experience. The former lawyer was formerly an active Liberal while he attended law school in the 1970s, then rejoined the party only in 1986. But the 39-year-old rode MP for the Toronto riding of Scarborough West because the first Liberal leadership contender who he announced his candidacy last June. The reasons he wants to stay in politics are "old-fashioned family values because 'our society is becoming bad.'" Wappel, who is married and has five children, plans to campaign against abortion on demand and for tax measures to help parents who work to stay at home to raise their children.

PAUL KAHILA with BRUCE WALLACE in Ottawa



Funeral for Armenian fighter in Yerevan: citizens that Moscow responded too slowly—or too harshly—to the strife

WORLD

A SEETHING RAGE

**THE FOCUS OF THE
INTERETHNIC
ANGER IN ARMENIA
AND AZERBAIJAN
SUDDENLY SHIFTS
TO MOSCOW**

From his office in Baku, the capital of the strife-torn Soviet republic of Azerbaijan, Aslan Guseinov said that he could see Soviet troops "everywhere"—and that their aggressive infiltration was the reason for 12-year-old Guseinov's anger. Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's recent decision to declare martial law in the republic and send soldiers into Baku to stop interethnic clashes, declared the Soviet army veteran, who now works for the Azerbaijan government's information department. "Calling in the troops was a fatal mistake," he said. Soviet troops continued to encounter stiff resistance as they tried to consolidate control in Baku and Azeri nationalists said

that, unless Moscow's forces were withdrawn immediately, they could feel themselves embroiled in protracted guerrilla war. At a news conference in the Soviet capital, Mikhail Gorbachev, a leader of the southern republic's powerful Popular Front, declared, "If Gorbachev wants a second Afghanistan, he will get it in Azerbaijan."

The seething rage in the southern republics of Azerbaijan and Armenia, which reached its most critical of Gorbachev's nearly five years in power, is suddenly aimed squarely at the Kremlin. Until recently, the conflict was almost entirely an equilibrium clash between Armenians—most of them Christian—and Muslim Azeris. But the Kremlin crackdown

has aroused bitter resentment from both sides; the Armenians say that Gorbachev responded too slowly, the Azeris say he reacted too harshly. In an apparent attempt to deflect such criticism, Defense Minister Dmitry Yezov, quoted in the government newspaper *Izvestia* late last week, provided meekly explanation for the Red Army's move into Baku to destroy the structure of the Popular Front and other extremist groups that, he claimed, were about to seize power in the southern republic. However, even some nations that had supported the deployment of troops to the region expressed concern over Moscow's apparent inability to control the situation, which has left at least 80 people dead and hundreds wounded. President George Bush said that Gorbachev faces "an internal problem of enormous dimensions." He added, "I cannot make predictions, but hope [Gorbachev] and only ourselves, but steps strong."

Baku's remains reflected the severe divide intrinsically and externally over Gorbachev's political fate. The new crisis has strains at a time when the country is wracked by inter-ethnic divisions, as well as by economic problems, which government officials acknowledge have reached disastrous proportions. On the economic front, a study by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, made public last week, concluded that the Kremlin's present policies could "ruin" prospects for economic reform, increasingly doubtful.

At the same time, Supreme Soviet Deputy

Boen Yefimov, a longtime Gorbachev ally who is now one of his fiercest critics, said during a visit to Japan that the Soviet leader "did not act fast" unless he shows increased rights for the country's 100 ethnic minorities. "Gorbachev is on a very difficult position," declared the blunt-spoken Yefimov. "And the more should be put mainly on him." But, as a Russian, foreign country spokesman Gernard Gernard said that "there are no alternatives" to either Gorbachev or his policies.

In fact, since Gorbachev came to power in 1985, he has consolidated his power with a series of gradual, but critical, political moves. He has purged the ruling Politburo of its longest-standing members, so that he is now the only member to have served directly under now-deposed former leader Leonid Brezhnev. As a result, some of the new members can rely less on status. In addition, Gorbachev has weakened the potential political strength of the army by downgrading the status of Defense Minister Yezov. He has also replaced a potential rival, Viktor Chepur, as head of the KGB secret police, with a political ally, Vladimir Kryuchkov. And by strengthening the powers of the previously ceremonial position of president—and removing the post himself, in addition to his title as general secretary of the Communist party—Gorbachev has written himself an important success story.

But, although the Soviet leader remains well insulated politically in Moscow, he is more exposed as the southern republics. The emergency measures in Azerbaijan, which include a tightly curfew and banning of strikes, have provoked direct controversy. For one thing, the Azeris maintain that many of the deaths were the direct result of Soviet troops looting and smashing their way into Baku through unauthorized barricades on Jan. 19. Early last week, Azerbaijan's vice president issued an extraordinary public statement warning that the republic was "on the edge of an abyss, beyond which lies chaos and anarchy." At least three people died in violent clashes between Armenians and Azeris confined in various parts of the republic. Two Soviet servicemen were reportedly injured when Soviet warplanes and artillery broke a blockade by Azeri commercial ships in Baku's Caspian Sea harbor.



Armed Armenian women supply trains blocked

Azeri anger was evident almost after the Soviet troops arrived. Four days later, the republic's legislature declared that the Kremlin's martial law did not apply, and said it would hold a referendum on declaring full sovereignty. Within a month, however, the republic's legislature declared that the Kremlin's martial law did not apply, and said it would hold a referendum on declaring full sovereignty. Within a month, however, the republic's legislature declared that the Kremlin's martial law did not apply, and said it would hold a referendum on declaring full sovereignty.

World Notes

NAZI CRACKS DOWN

Berlin's military police, Prager Avet, searched the toughest crackdown since the regime of dictator Joe-Claude Dussan, which was toppled in 1984. After detaining a whole of single on Jan. 20, April last week, detained and arrested political opponents and exposed movements.

A ROMANIAN POWER STRUGGLE

In Romania, the National Salvation Front's ruling caucus, which took power after the popular revolt that ousted dictator Nicolae Ceausescu from power in December, said it would form a "policy of movement" and field its own candidates in elections on May 28. But members of the opposition parties said that the front has no other advantage because it controls the apparatus of the state. The Romanian Vice-President Dumitru Mazilu resigned, denouncing other members of the ruling council as authoritarian.

BOAT PEOPLE IN LUNGO

In Geneva, a 10-day-long conference on Vietnamese Boat People ended in a stalemate. U.S. delegates called for a one-year moratorium on British plans for the formal repatriation of some of the 56,000 Boat People who have taken refuge in Hong Kong, a British colony. But British officials, who suspended their repatriation plan temporarily after they were widely denounced for flying 51 Boat People back to Hanoi on Dec. 12, said that they want to resume the operation in March.

BARRY CHECKS OUT CLINIC

Washington Mayor Marjorie Barry checked into a substance-abuse clinic in Florida. Barry's delegate to City Administrator Carol Thompson to take over day-to-day operation of the capital after he was arrested on Jan. 18 on drug charges.

ON THE ROAD TO DEMOCRACY

The Hungarian government announced that the Soviet Union has agreed to remove the 50,000 troops it has stationed in the country. Meanwhile, Hungary's interior minister, Imre Horvath, issued following allegations that his ministry has continued to spy on opposition parties even though they are now legal.

ROTHENBERG RELEASED

Charles Rothenberg, who was convicted in 1983 of attempted murder for pointing a knife at the head of his seven-year-old son, David, was sleeping, and then sitting him so he was, was paroled from a California prison after serving 10 years of his 15-year sentence. David, now 13 and badly scarred, denounced the release.

threatened to declare their party independent from Moscow.

The Armenians, meanwhile, contend that Gorbachev has been too slow in dealing with the ethnic clashes, which first broke out two years ago. They regularly express their resentment at a Kremlin decision to leave the largely Armenian enclave of Nagorno-Karabakh under the control of Azerbaijan, which surrounds it. And they blame Moscow for

off with separatist groups, pistols and ammunition belonging to the government's interior ministry troops.

In fact, both Armenian and Azeri fighters have demonstrated notable tactical sophistication. The Soviet media recently reported that groups of insurgents are led by embittered Armenian or Azeri veterans of the Soviet military occupation of Afghanistan, which ended less than one year ago. Interior ministry officials

blockade of shops in Baku's harbor, forcing Soviet warships to shoot their way out. Then, the official Soviet press agency, described the rumored killings as "a criminal lie."

The continuing unrest gave rise to a variety of reactions abroad. Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir, citing the increase in anti-Semitic diatribes in Baku's press, said that he was speaking up publicly to help an estimated 30,000 Jewish living in Azerbaijan to emigrate to Israel. But the most



Armenian insurgents: stolen explosives, submachine guns, pistols and ammunition

showing Azerbaijan to stage long-standing Moloches of train carrying badly needed supplies to Armenia. Ren Kasyanov, the editor-in-chief of the republic's Armenian press agency, told *Moskovsky* by phone. "Western correspondents are prohibited from being in the southern republics during the crisis that those events have caused some people criticize for the authoritarian rule of Josef Stalin. Although Armenian said that he reports Gorbachev. He added, "There are people who say that, under Stalin, not even a fly could interfere with a border."

Some Armenians resorted to extreme tactics of their own. Soviet interior ministry officials said that in the Aghvan district of Armenia last week, local insurgents stole 90,000 electric detonators and more than 300 tons of explosives. Other insurgents burned down buildings near the republic's capital of Yerevan, warning

say that the insurgents stole them in preparation for an upcoming Soviet army offensive. Those fighters, hardened by combat and equipped with light and medium-range weapons, can provide a lethal challenge to inexperienced regular troops, and Artyom Karoyan, a columnist at the weekly magazine *Gosyork*. In Baku, troops allowed Azeris to hold public meetings, despite a ban on such gatherings, that declared Borevich. "Since the insurgents are better armed than the troops, the question is not why the troops are allowing militancy, but what is it that the insurgents are allowing the troops?"

Even Soviet officials say that they are encountering serious problems in getting accurate reports from the region, and rumors have been rampant—and explosive. Azeri diplomats in Moscow told foreign journalists that Soviet troops had shot at least 30,000 Azeris and were storming their homes in an all-Soviet border. That led to the

to be the general reaction of Soviets when Mladkov's announcement on the streets of Moscow and by telephone to other cities. Even those who said they did not agree with the emergency measures in Azerbaijan added that they support Gorbachev's overall policies. Vyacheslav, for one, a 30-year-old Moscow aviation worker, said, "I do not like using troops, but Gorbachev is a good leader, and if you can judge by my friends and me, most people like him."

Soviet Westerners agree that, in the current crisis, ethnic Russians will continue to support Gorbachev partly because of widespread fear. Larry Black, director of Soviet and East European studies at Clarkson University in Ontario, said that the Russian attitude is "Armenians and Azerbaijanis are just warships, and it is only Soviet power that keeps them together." Other experts say that the crisis could actually strengthen Gorbachev's position by demonstrating the positive side of government strength. But the issue now is whether Soviet troops can quickly restore order, or whether they will become involved in a long—and murderous—guerrilla war.

ANTHONY WILSON-SMITH in Moscow

YUGOSLAVIA

A nation divided

Regional pressures explode into violence

In a western region of the country, political leaders threatened to break away from central control. In another region, members of the Muslim majority, stood up with their Christian neighbors, and violence, with government security forces. The report could have been about the Soviet Union, and about the Balkan and Caucasus regions is threatening to tear apart the federation.

For gas and tractors. Authorities gave no figures for casualties, but it was clearly the most serious since March, when at least 26 people protesting a tightening of Serbian rule died in riots in Kosovo. Taken together, the rioting in Pristina, the Serbian capital, and the subsequent breakdown of the party congress seemed to mark a major threat to central control by the leadership in Belgrade, the

party gas and tractors. Authorities gave no figures for casualties, but it was clearly the most serious since March, when at least 26 people protesting a tightening of Serbian rule died in riots in Kosovo. Taken together, the rioting in Pristina, the Serbian capital, and the subsequent breakdown of the party congress seemed to mark a major threat to central control by the leadership in Belgrade, the



Milosevic at party congress failure to prevent a walkout

capital. "The party owns no more," declared the daily *Borba*, and recently an official Communist newspaper.

That judgment may be prescient. Party chiefs in Serbia said support strong control from the center. And Yugoslavia's current problems were more than the loss of the Soviet Union, where the Communist party retains its hold on power, than to those of the center. Soviet satellites, where the people have routinely rejected the Communists. Still a U.S.

diplomat in Belgrade. "The difference between the Yugoslav party and the others is that, in Yugoslavia, it has remained a truly popular movement. People may be disillusioned with it, but they don't hate it."

Federal Prime Minister Ante Markovic and his reformist Communist cabinet do, in fact, seem to be popular. Certainly, Markovic's distance himself from Marxist economic theory. After returning to office 10 months ago, he asked Harvard economist Jeffrey Sachs to advise on how to reduce Yugoslavia's more than 1,000-per-cent annual inflation rate. 10-per-cent unemployment and \$23 billion foreign debt. Sachs, who is currently advising Poland's military-led government and who has helped Bolivia and other South American countries control hyperinflation since 1986, prescribed tough new measures for Yugoslavia. As a result, early this year the Yugoslav dinar became the first truly convertible currency in

Eastern Europe, and the government said it to the value of the West German deutsche mark. At the same time, the government froze wages and removed price controls. When prices began to climb sharply, workers at many firms went on strike, demanding higher wages. But inflation came to a halt, and Sachs predicts that wage demands will gradually ease. "But actually stop within a few weeks," he says.

Stable economy would be a significant factor in multi-party elections to be held in each of Yugoslavia's six republics and two provinces later this year. But national elections in Kosovo, and the importance of the Slovians for more far-reaching democratic reforms and closer association with Western Europe, might still create uncontrollable pressures in several regions.

In Slovenia, where the regional Communist party new general to dissolve itself at a congress on Feb. 2, and where elections are scheduled for March, the leader of the anti-Communist Democratic Opposition of Slovenia,

Janez Pucnik, insisted last Friday that "we do not wish to announce a referendum." But in Slovenia, in Athens, in three days' straight day of demonstration, opened fire with handguns as riot police were warning handclapped riots. There was no casualties, but the use of firearms seemed to be an ominous new development in an already delicate situation.

JOHN BERMAN with SUE MASTERS in Belgrade

Gorbachev still strong



THE UNITED STATES

An 11th-hour victory

The Senate upholds a controversial veto

It appeared that the President was heading for a political fiasco. For weeks, many congressmen had been openly critical of George Bush's efforts to repair U.S.-Chinese relations following Beijing's brutal repression of pro-democracy protesters last June. And last week, that criticism grew into an open confrontation when the House of Representatives, at what many suspects said was a referendum on Bush's entire China policy, voted by a commanding 390 to 25 to override his veto of a bill that would protect Chinese students at the United States from deportation. But in the Senate, the administration mounted a fierce lobbying campaign to persuade Republicans to vote along party lines. And in the critical vote, Bush prevailed: the 60-to-37 coast fell four votes short of the two-thirds majority required to override the veto. "I'm very, very pleased," declared Bush. "It gives me the confidence that I can go forward the way I think is correct."



Bush: improving relations with Beijing

But it was a shallow victory at best. The overwhelming majority of congressmen had opposed Bush, who takes evident pride in his expertise on China, where he served as envoy in 1974 and 1975. And the Democrat-controlled House and Senate had sent a clear signal that, despite the President's 58-per-cent approval rating in public opinion polls, they are prepared to tackle him on key policy issues. Many Democrats expressed bitterness about the China vote. "This was a victory for President Bush and the Chinese leadership," said Senator Edward Kennedy, who spearheaded the campaign to override the veto. "It was a defeat for human rights."

Congressmen have expressed dissatisfaction with several conciliatory gestures the President made towards China last year. In December, Bush lifted some economic sanctions against Beijing—without demanding a significant improvement in the respect of human rights abroad. At the same time, Congress learned that Bush had secretly designated national security adviser Brent Scowcroft to Beijing in July, less than a month after the Chinese crackdown and at a time when the President had publicly pledged to cut off all high-level contacts with the Beijing leadership. And in November, Bush vetoed the bill that would have allowed as many as 40,000 students to stay in the United States after their visas expire.

Bush had already issued an executive order that would allow the students to stay in the United States. As a result, he said, the bill was a direct challenge to his power to shape foreign policy. He claimed that an executive order was less confrontational than a law, and that his general policy of improving relations with Beijing would ultimately yield human rights concessions. When Beijing lifted martial law in Jan. 20, administration officials declared it a vindication of the President's quiet diplomacy.

Last week, administration officials pressed those arguments in Capitol Hill. Because the House had passed the legislation by a 403-to-6 vote and seemed unlikely to support the President, lobbyists concentrated their efforts at the Senate. Bush had a biennial meeting with Republican senators, while Secretary of State James Baker, Vice-President Dan Quayle and even former president Richard Nixon lobbied and met with senators on the Hill. Their efforts succeeded: 37 of the 45 Republican senators supported Bush.

For many of the Chinese students caught in the middle of the Washington power struggle, the Senate vote was a clear disappointment. Some of them expressed fear that Bush would eventually rescind his executive order. Said Feng Wu, a Chinese student leader in Los Angeles: "We want to be protected by the law, not by the assurance of one individual, even if it is the President." But, for Bush, the euphoria of beating the odds in the Senate clearly outweighed any concern over the disappointment of the students.

MARY MEINER with MELARY HACKETT
in Washington

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politicians who lie,

athletes who cheat,

billionaires who evade

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EUROPE

A devastating wind

Britain suffers its worst storm in 300 years

A 11-year-old girl was killed at her school as her classroom was uprooted when hurricane-force winds tore the roof off her school last week. An 11-month-old baby was crushed by a falling chimney as his father rushed from his crumpling home with the child in his arms. Two workmen fell to their deaths while scaffolding was blown down while they were restoring the facade of a 17th-century building. And off the southeast coast, a tanker was blown from the deck of a freighter and drowned in momentous seas. They were all among the casualties of a violent storm that struck Britain last Thursday—the worst in three centuries—killing 46 people dead and damage provisionally estimated at almost \$2 billion. After sweeping the British Isles for four hours, the storm crossed the North Sea and roared inland twice in France, Belgium, Holland, Denmark and West Germany, claiming at least 20 more lives. And in the storm's wake, some weather experts threatened that the so-called greenhouse effect,



Damage in London: some weather experts blame the greenhouse effect

the global warming phenomenon caused primarily by the burning of fossil fuels, was to blame for the speed of the winds, which at times reached 120 m.p.h.

The storm blew in from the mid-Atlantic, where cold air travelling south from the Arctic meets warm air travelling north from the tropics. Variations or depressions are created where the air masses collide. And meteorologists agree that the higher the tem-

perature of the warm air, and the colder the cold air, the deeper these depressions are likely to be, causing exceptionally violent storms. Said Prof. Peter Bosan of northern England's University of Durham: "Most scientists believe that the weather will become more violent as there are more extremes of temperature." But he added, "We cannot agree on when it will happen or exactly how it will manifest itself."

Bosan was the loudest of all of the affected countries last week. An estimated 600,000 people were left without electricity—some for days. Overturned vehicles blocked the six-lane M25 freeway, which encircles London, while 10,000 buses halted traffic on hundreds of lesser roads. Towns and villages across the country were choked with debris. In London's renowned Royal Botanic Gardens at Kew, hundreds of greenhouse windows were smashed and scores of rare trees, including some 200-year-old oaks, were uprooted.

Reinforcing the theory that global warming is making Atlantic storms progressively more violent was the fact that last week's gales

were considerably more destructive than those that hit Britain in October, 1987. That storm took 17 lives. Last week's blast of wind set a frightening new record, leaving the British and their Western European neighbors with a long and costly cleanup and a new nervousness about the future.

JOHN BAKERMAN with JIM MATTHEW in London

perature. Most of them were still strapped at their seats. It was just tangled, twisted metal."

Within minutes of the crash, some of the dead survivors began climbing from the wreckage. In the darkness and cold drizzle, rescuers worked to reach other people trapped inside the airliner. Said firefighter Tony Gasiewicz: "A lot of passengers were dead and we were in shock. We said there to hang in there, we'd get them out. The rescuers formed a human chain and passed survivors down ladders along the steep steps of the aircraft. A doctor at the scene, George Dunn of nearby Glen Cove Community Hospital, said that the number of survivors was so high because the plane did not catch fire.

As ambulances and helicopters carried the injured to hospitals, a makeshift morgue was set up for the dead. Throughout the night, authorities removed bodies from the wreckage, wrapping them in plastic body bags and placing them in the trunks of a passenger

struck by the portals of heaven after John McEwen.

A spokesman for the Federal Aviation Administration said that the 23-year-old jet had missed one approach to Kennedy airport and was making its second attempt when the control tower lost contact with the plane. A 10-hour search ended last Wednesday, when Colorado searchers gave up responsibility for the location of an *Aviation Boeing 727* in Bogota, officials said that the lack of an explosion in the New York crash made sabotage seem unlikely. At week's end, as investigators searched for clues in the unsolved tragedy of *Aviation Flight 662*, they had some intriguing leads. They reported that, in fact, all four engines had stopped before the crash, and that the plane was almost entirely out of fuel.

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TRAGEDY IN THE LONG ISLAND FOG

The plane's last message was terse. "We have just lost two engines," said *Aviation* 727, captain of *Aviation Flight 662* bound for New York City from Bogota, Colombia, at 9:02 p.m. last Thursday. Then he radioed "Churning fuel. Requesting emergency assistance." Moments later the four-engine Boeing 727 carrying 152 passengers and nine crew members disappeared through dense fog and crashed into a hillside in Cove Neck, a poor Long Island village about 20 km northwest of Kennedy International Airport. In all, 72 people, including the pilot, were killed, and more than 50 were critically injured. Said paramedic Jeff Rose, the first responder on the scene: "There were bodies on top of bodies on top of bodies. People were

The Trans Sport mission is ready for lift-off. The crew is now inside the capsule. All systems go.

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THE CONTRARIANS

DESPITE LAYOFFS AND CUTBACKS, A CONFIDENT GROUP OF ECONOMISTS ARE PREDICTING BOOM TIMES AHEAD

For the past year, most North American economists have been issuing dire warnings that the boom of the 1980s—the largest sustained expansion since the Second World War—is winding down. A steady stream of bleak statistics and layoff announcements in recent weeks has fueled their pessimism. Among the gloomy reports: Canada's first monthly merchandise trade deficit in 13 years and more than 100,000 layoffs in the critical North American auto-manufacturing sector. Meanwhile, interest rates remain at punishing double-digit levels, and last week's economic reports of accelerating U.S. interest rates drove stock markets around the world into their worst single-day declines since the stock-crash of last Oct. 13. But an increasingly small school of economic contrarians is predicting that North Americans will find themselves basking in good times, possibly even boom times, throughout the 1990s.

The so-called contrarians say that their predictions are based on an analysis of long-term trends in inflation, demographics and global markets. Said Edward Yardeni, senior economist with Prudential-Bache Securities Inc., a New York City and one of the foremost proponents of long-term economic optimism: "The North American economy is now too diversified and resilient to succumb to a general recession. What's more, there are a number of positive factors that, taken together, provide a potent force for growth over the next decade." Peter Dugan, an associate director at the Toronto-based Institute for Policy Analysis, expressed similar views. Said Dugan: "The economists are ignoring the sources of strength that will see the 1980s advance the next level of growth that we experienced in the bubble 1960s."

It is the disappointing short-term indicators,



Shoppers in Toronto's Eaton Centre: 'end of the postwar business cycle'

such as the 5,700 temporary layoffs at auto plants in Ontario and Quebec last week, and Bank of Canada governor John Crow's decision to raise the bank rate to 12.25 per cent from 11.14 per cent, that, in part, are leading the optimists to conclude that the best of times lie ahead. "What the trade deficit and layoffs show is that the best is being sold out of inflation," said Dugan. "And it is the fear of inflation

that's been behind the Bank of Canada's tight monetary policy." Edward Neidell, executive vice-president of economics and corporate affairs at the Royal Bank of Canada in Toronto, said that lower rates in the future "will make more money available for credit spending and that, in turn, will boost productivity."

The optimists also point to a changing population structure, specifically the aging of the



Atkinson Cooper savings will fuel sustained growth

baby-boom generation, as a critical aspect of their theories. "The 30-year-old yuppie is about to become a 40-year-old," says Yardeni. "That means that we will see a further escalation in productivity gains. Additionally, middle-aged workers are the most hardworking members of the labor market."

At the same time, the contrarians predict that the boomers will generate huge new pools of savings that their incomes rise and they put more purchases of housing and equities behind them, said Dugan. "They'll be squirreling money away at an unprecedented rate." And in this, he and Sherry Atkinson-Cooper, a chief economist with Beca Fry Ltd. in Toronto, "the savings rate in Canada will move from a record low per cent of pre-vintage income up into the double-digit category." And their

analysts of the European Community in 1980 added Paddy "Just look at India alone. If current growth continues, it has the potential of creating a middle-class market that's equivalent in size to the United States. If everything else falls into place, we definitely could be in for a world boom."

The contrarians also claim that North American central bankers now understand that high interest rates will sap long-term growth. "What the central banks realize is that they're reshaping a short-short-term, quick-fix monetary policies to more long-term goals," said Neidell. He added that the governments of Canada and the United States are also beginning to realize the mistake, more predictable spending and taxing policies of Japan and many European countries. He added "We'll see in the end of the postwar business cycle. Sure, we'll get rolling recessions, that is, downturns in certain sectors and industries, but nothing massive like what happened in 1982. Those days are over."

But in stock markets in Toronto and New York closed down at the end of a troubled trading week, it appeared that most North American investors, at least, still believe that the traditional pattern of boom and recession continues in domestic economies.

Crest cooling markets



into capital investments."

But according to the contrarian theory, the explosive growth for North American companies in foreign markets will more than offset any slowdown in domestic consumer spending. "While the markets might be shrinking here, they'll be expanding in many other parts of the world," said Yardeni. "Whether one looks at Europe, Southeast Asia or Latin or South America, the possibilities for increased export trade are tremendous."

Peter Polley, professor of economics and a director of Project Link, a Toronto-based international organization that specializes in economic modeling, took a similar approach. He said that

the Canadian economy will expand throughout the decade because of the long-term Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement and the elimination of most trade barriers around the world, including those among the 12 member

nations of the European Community in 1990. Added Polley: "Just look at India alone. If current growth continues, it has the potential of creating a middle-class market that's equivalent in size to the United States. If everything else falls into place, we definitely could be in for a world boom."

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SARAH MURRAY with correspondence reports

Business Notes

NEW DEFICIT WARNINGS

Warning that rising interest payments on the national debt will soon force Ottawa to cut back on social programs, both the Canadian Chamber of Commerce and the C.D. Howe Institute have called on Ottawa to slash \$25 billion from its \$30.5-billion budget deficit within the next four years.

MOVING LIFELINES

Rex Allport Ltd. of Toronto announced that it plans to close two arm-and-ammunition stores near St. John's, Ont., next year, eliminating 1,900 jobs. The announcement came three days after just another publisher, Macmillan, announced that it will cut production and eliminate overhead by its workers in Ontario and Manitoba.

RAILWAY FEUD IN P.E.I.

Cowichan Farm Ltd., owned by the Scott John, N.B.-based lawyer family, announced that it would declare a 400-million-dollar move from the federal government to build a branch line along the Seaway, P.E.I. The move would be done after Wallace McCain, president of the Irving family's leading move in the frozen food industry business, Pleasantville, N.B.-based McCain Foods Ltd., announced publicly about the proposed rail line and offered to spend \$25 million of his firm's money to build the plant.

MERCURY CHALLENGED

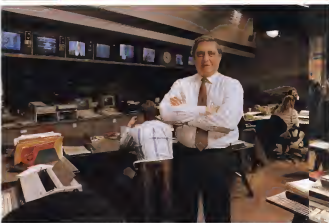
The federal competition tribunal again rejected Imperial Oil Ltd.'s \$1-billion lawsuit against the federal government, with Toronto-based Imperial Oil Ltd. claiming that the federal government's oil price controls are in violation of the Competition Act. The lawsuit was filed in 1982. The tribunal's decision was a setback for Imperial Oil Ltd. and other oil companies.

CANPEAU SELLS OFFICE TOWERS

Donnell Campbell Corp., whose U.S.-based department stores are operating under federal bankruptcy protection, announced that it has sold its 50-percent share in the Kansas City office tower to Edson-based Pricewaterhouse Development Ltd. paid a reported \$110 million for the half-interest in the properties.

TO HUNGARY WITH CASH

A group of affluent North American investors, including Toronto-based investors Albert Rabinovich and Hungarian-born Andrew Sarkis, have formed a consortium to pursue investment opportunities in Eastern Europe. Its first move: the purchase of a 50-percent stake in Hungary's General Banking and Trust Co. for \$11.8 million.



A global vision

Izy Asper plans a national TV network

The showdown had all the drama of a make-or-buy MacLachlan game. After a four-year legal struggle, Israeli (Izy) Asper and his ex-wedged partners, Paul Morton and Seymour Epstein, faced each other in a Winnipeg courtroom at 9:30 a.m. on Dec. 24 for a summer take-all play for Global Communications Ltd., owner of the lucrative Global television system. Refocusing the contest for the Ontario-based TV network was a court official equipped with a hand-held stopwatch to ensure that neither side exceeded the 30-minute time limit for both. Morton and Epstein opened at 9:12 a.m. The wife was raised: 24 times over the next 20 minutes. Then, at 10:40 a.m., Morton and Epstein dropped out, leaving a surprised, exhausted Asper with his last phrase: "I've been having a 200-lb. weight lifted off your shoulders," he roared. "I feel in need of a long holiday." But, instead of enjoying his moment of triumph, the Winnipeg entrepreneur

was now embroiled in creating another underwriting—funding Global, and a string of independent stations, one Canada's third national television network.

Izy Asper, 57, just been known as a big fisher for years. When he was just 24 and attending law school at the University of Manitoba, he decided that a narrow legal career would dampen his sweeping ambi-

THE BATTLE FOR VIEWERS

The networks' all-day average percentage share of television viewers in Ontario

| | |
|--------|------|
| CTV | 28.0 |
| CBC | 24.0 |
| Global | 21.2 |

*Global's all-day share in Ontario
Source: Bureau of Broadcast Measurement for November 1990

Asper at Global's Toronto studios: driving ambition and alienation

tion. Since then, the creative workaholic's professional life has been wide and varied—lawyer, politician and corporate acquisitionist—marked by success and setbacks. But now, at the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC) update his Global purchase, for which he expects to file an application in early February, he may at last have found his true calling.

With his range voice and fast, dark-coated eyes, the chain-smoking, Winnipeg-based entrepreneur looks as though he is more at home in the New York City jazz clubs he likes to frequent than in the corporate boardrooms where his big eye and aggressive style often upset more traditional executives. But Asper's friends and associates in the tight-knit Winnipeg business community are fiercely loyal to the entrepreneur who combined strategic audacity and a knack for corporate strategy to build a national business empire without ever shedding a hair from his base. Says Anna Theodorou, executive vice-president of Winnipeg-based Shelnor Corp. at Canada Ltd., a real estate and development firm: "Izy is one of the true visionaries of Canadian business."

Having won the contest for Izy, Asper is forging ahead with his bold plan to build a

nationwide, co-operative system of independent television stations capable of taking on the giant Toronto-based CTV Television Network Ltd. and the Canadian Broadcasting Corp. (CBC) Global's Toronto-based operation in Ontario reaches 15 per cent of television viewers in the province on an average night. At the same time, it has developed some strong homegrown news and entertainment shows, including T&T, starring Mr. T and Tomco's Alan Adams. Addressed the popular children's show *Care Bears*. The Toronto station will serve as the flagship station in a network.

The system's reach already extends to Winnipeg, Asper, says, and Vancouver, where Asper's CanWest Capital Corp., a privately owned merchant-banking venture, owns independent television stations affiliated with either of the major networks. He also hopes to soon operate independent stations in cooperation with other partners in major markets in Alberta, Quebec and the Atlantic provinces, where CanWest does not now have a presence.

Under Asper's plan, the independent stations would be free to independently develop and broadcast local programming—and would pool their resources to create more national programs for a national audience. If this happens, Asper says, he will have a fully operational national network.

Meanwhile, the CanWest system would include a lot more programs produced at Western Canada, a goal that gives Asper particular pleasure. He added:

"The central Canadians who have all the political and economic clout in Canada do not have as accurate a picture of the West. We hope to change that. People should not have to move to Toronto to represent themselves."

In fact, Asper's system of independent stations is deep as his Manitoba roots. Currently Asper and his wife Ruth (Gibbi) live in a comfortable bungalow in Winnipeg's wealthy River Heights section and own a lake cabin on Paskam Lake. They have three children: David, 31, Gail, 26, and Leonard, 25.

Asper, now a multi-millionaire, has come a long way from his birthplace in Moncton, a tiny farming town about 200 km northwest of Winnipeg, where his father owned some independent movie theatres. He moved to Manitoba in 1945 to study history and law at the University of Manitoba, where he was class valedictorian. Later, he opened a law practice to diversify his income, eventually making a reputation as the city's top tax lawyer. But the ambitious entrepreneur would never. He wrote a syndicated business column for *The Globe and Mail* and

chaired provincial government committees on economic development. While hospitalized with hepatitis in 1959, he even found the strength to author a criticism of the federal tax system called *The Stoney Jerkey*, which became a best-seller.

Then, he got involved in politics. Asper has been a staunch Liberal since studying the writings of British philosopher John Stuart Mill at university in 1970, with a campaign platform of national economic power for Western Canada, he captured the recent leadership of the Manitoba Liberal party. But, in the 1973 provincial election, won by New Democratic Party Premier Edward Schreyer, Asper's party only managed to win five seats. Two years later, weary of being one of the few Liberals in the provincial legislature, he resigned. He called Asper: "It takes a long time to effect changes in politics. I needed things to move much quicker."

Business provided the vehicle for that. Even before stepping down as Liberal leader, Asper had concluded that his future lay in communications. An opportunity arose in 1974 when he and fellow Winnipegger Paul Morton joined

and Schreyer the host of the Prairie Western community with its successful investments in Manulife Life Insurance Co. and Crown Trust Co.

But the 1982-1983 election by CanWest, had, forcing the partners to sell off most of their assets to buy out the shareholders. Then, in 1984, citing irreconcilable differences, they decided to break up, and Asper bought CanWest's broadcasting holdings, with Schwartz taking some of the other companies, including the Winnipeg-based McLeod Stetson Inc. chain of retail stores.

Since then, Asper has gone from strength to strength. He fought a long, vicious battle for CTV TV, a highly successful independent television station in Vancouver, and later started an equally independent CTV in St. John's and CTV TV in Regina—to go with his CTV TV in Winnipeg.

But his biggest battle was in Global's boardroom. Although Asper by that time owned 61 per cent of Global, he was crushed under a voting trust agreement to increasing only 30 per cent of the shares to his boardroom table. The other 50 per cent was co-terminously by Morton, then Global president, and Morton's close friend, Seymour Epstein, the chairman of Global's executive committee.

Although the partnership had started amicably in 1982, the three men were embroiled in a bitter fight over how Global should be run. While Asper wanted to do more integration of the television operations to create a national system, Epstein and Morton wanted to keep the focus on Toronto. Asper felt increasingly alienated from the operations. The dispute ended in the Manitoba Court of Queen's Bench when Epstein and Morton filed a suit claiming that Asper's CanWest group of companies had backed out of an agreement to sell them 22 per cent of the Global shares. But Asper counter-sued and even tried to push Morton out of the presidency by claiming that he had been improperly using Global funds for bar tabs, theatre tickets and airline flights.

Last October, the Manitoba Court of Queen's Bench ordered the warring parties to resolve the outstanding disputes by allowing the company to try the highest judge in the province the stage for the dramatic Dec. 24 showdown in the Winnipeg offices of Robertson Greenstock of Canada Ltd. "In retrospect, the whole thing was never necessary," says Asper. "It was like a marriage breakdown that actors never thought nobody is quite as

Now that the Global war is over, Asper's wife and children are trying to persuade him to cut back on his exorbitant work week by playing tennis, learning to ski beloved past and enjoying his serene as a country lord. Asper, who has a small estate a year ago, says he knows that he needs to slow down. "I feel better in my life," he says, matter-of-factly looking at his long-range dream of building a national television system just over the horizon, he is resting easier than ever.

JOHN DEWITT with correspondence reports



Amini and Mr. T: more western content

review Global TV, then a small southern Ontario television station, from bankruptcy with an emergency loan of \$14 million. Their partner in the battle was CFC Communications, owned by Toronto broadcasting executive Allan Slaight.

Three years later, Asper, along with Gerald Schwartz, a Harvard-educated Winnipegger who had worked on Wall Street before returning to his home town, joined CanWest Capital Corp., a merchant bank that succeeded in a wide range of companies. CanWest, which eventually grew to \$2.5 billion in assets, made Asper



An unseemly end to the railway saga

BY PETER C. NEWMAN

There was something unseemly about the way the management of Via Rail chose to withhold permission for the last run of its transcontinental train to stop off at Gravelblond, B.C., to pay tribute to its corporate beginnings. Historical gobs didn't cover opening deficits, but the Canadians, which by then was running on fumes, should have been allowed to make a brief seasonal stop so that a wreath could have been placed on the stone cairn marking the location of the Last Spike. Instead, in place there on November 7, 1985 (that, they couldn't stop, the train crew decided to throw the wreath on the monument instead, but when the engines slowed down the locomotive, nothing happened. "They didn't let us say we were going to let us throw it on," explained a befuddled Via employee.)

The men who built and financed the steel ribbons that linked this outrageous hunk of geography into a country dispersed between two continents, the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR) construction was as daring a commercial venture as has ever been attempted anywhere, and raising the necessary capital was an unprecedented example of private and public-sector co-operation. The project was as much political as economic, fulfilling the promise made to lure British Columbia into Confederation. Sir John A. Macdonald, the nation's founding prime minister who gambled his career on the railway—and almost lost—insisted that being opposed to the CPR was tantamount to treason, because it was Western Canada's only hope of avoiding annexation by the United States. In these days of free trade, that doesn't seem to count for much, but it certainly did in Macdonald's day. "The CPR," he declared in the final debate on its incorporation, "will give us a great, a united, a rich, an improving, a developing Canada, instead of a barren, a tributary to American lions, to American railways, to American business."

The building of that railroad dominated Can-

There were no fireworks, no bands, no speeches, no booze and just a plain iron spike to mark the completion of the transcontinental

ada's fledgling Parliament for most of 26 years: one CPR lobbyist boasted that, whenever the Speaker's bell rang for a division, there were always more MPs at his apartment than at the back of the house and puffing live cigars than anywhere else in Ottawa. Two administrations were wrecked in the partisan maneuvering involved. The CPR ultimately received government subsidies worth at least \$25 million—plus 35 million acres of free land to help complete the massive undertaking. The company spent about \$100 million on construction and equipment, mostly raised by the sale of stock in the British and New York markets, as well as loans from the Bank of Montreal.

The original syndicate was led by two-dougherty Highlanders, George Stephen and Donald Smith. They took the main role at one point but to pledge their own houses and fortunes as loan guarantees. But they also reaped the benefits. The CPR directors used treasury stock to themselves at 25 cents on the dollar and gained an eventual \$9 million profit. Stephen and Smith were rewarded with British titles for their doggedness, but it was William Van Horne, the taciturn American railroad giant in charge of construction, who deserved most of the credit. "To have built that road,"

he boasted afterward, "would have made a Cossack out of the German emperor."

Van Horne achieved the impossible by throwing tracks across the barely explored Rockies and bridging the all-but-impossible, soggy 200 km north of Lake Superior. One particularly tough section of moose swamland the tracks across tams, including three locomotives. Whenever creosote came to load him, Van Horne would drift down them with the advice, "Go well your horse and lay your track."

Within four years of his arrival, Van Horne had the railway just about finished. Crews were suing to hammer in the final links across Kettle Lake Pass, completing 600 feet of track in a record four months and 45 seconds. The rails being laid from East and West abutted at Gravelblond in Eagle Pass, named after a Scottish stronghold of Donald Smith's ancestor. The first transcontinental, consisting of Smith's and Van Horne's private railway companies, a baggage car and the engine had arrived at the farthest spot the previous evening. A discarded locomotive was set to be used later to serve as a temporary railway station.

In the United States, comparable two-company railroads at the time invariably included fireworks, marching bands, extravagant speeches, free liquor for construction crews and gold-plated spikes. This being Canada, there were no fireworks, no bands, no speeches, no booze and just a plain iron spike. The only sound that reverberated in the barren canyon during the ceremony was the thump of Smith's ax as he hacked in that last big nail, crossed, tried again and finally hit home. For a long moment, there was silence, as if those who were there knew they had been part of a very special moment. "It seemed," Stanford Fleming, a CPR engineer recalled later, "as if the act were performed had we had a spell on all present. Each one appeared absorbed in his own reflections."

That day at Gravelblond changed Canadian history. Louis Riel, whose rebellion had occasioned the CPR's completion, was hanged nine days later, clearing the way for Prairie settlement. Once it was in full operation, the CPR plugged Canada into world trade. The "faster"—looming-upon trains hurtling from Vancouver eastward—provided the last bridge for consignments of Oriental textiles being dispatched from Hong Kong to Eastern Canada and the United States. The dream of a "Northwest Passage" had been achieved at the Montreal end in a dozen days. Trade soon grew into important distribution centers, while Winnipeg, the Prairies' primary wholesale terminal, was bypassed.

Gravelblond itself never prospered and was all but abandoned after the Second World War. Its last train station was closed, but the site of the last-spike ceremony was rediscovered for a 1985 centennial commemoration—though one has not once bothered to maintain the location. The railway's management seems to have forgotten that its original charter was granted on the understanding that the transcontinental link would be operated forever.

If there was work a mess, Gravelblond was worth a stop.

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Lambada dancers at Alexandre in Montreal, featuring North American tips

TRENDS

Lusting for lambada

A Brazilian dance craze hits North America

As the music, it resembles a gentle tango; the man takes the woman's right hand in his left and she leans it to his side. Then he puts his right hand on the small of her back, while she places her left on his shoulder. But, below the waist, it looks like an X-rated contending of limbs. The man places his right leg between both of his partner's and, while she swivels his thigh, the two begin to gyrate their hips in sensuous motion. It is called lambada, a dance that originated in a rural region of southern Brazil during the 1930s. And enthusiasts say that it may become the biggest dance craze since the twist in the 1960s. After it was introduced last summer in France with a crackle-pop song and a steady video full of half-naked dancers, a modern version has swept through the dance clubs of Europe. Now, even

in the dead of winter, its promoters say that the tropical sounds can loosen North American hips and help lambada become a hit on the sale of the Atlantic.

Already popular in Quebec, it has been called everything from Latin Dirty Dancing to the latest form of safe sex. But Alain Croton, owner of Alexandre, a Montreal club drawing full houses to its lambada nights: "People are touching and feeling each other again when they dance. It's good, clean fun." Lambada (from the Portuguese verb "to wig") is also well-conditioned and highly profitable. The masterminds behind the craze are French record producers Jean Kamikaz and Olivier Loriot, who bought the rights to 400 lambada tunes for \$360,000 in 1988 and launched it with the help of sponsorship from France's Omega soft-drink firm and a worldwide recording deal with



CBS Records. A series of videos featuring a sweetly girly band, Kamika, and a group of sexually charged dancers then helped to establish lambada's look and sound.

Kamika's recording of *Lambada* has sold more than five million copies in Europe, making it the largest-selling single in European history. Set on the trend, North American promoters have begun predicting huge dividends. Kamika is currently touring the United States with an album, titled *World Beat*, and making high-profile appearances on late-night TV shows. At the same time, CBS and PolyGram Records have each released out compilation albums of lambada music. Next week, the dance gets an official launch in English Canada, when Toronto's Berlin Club offers a gale of lambada shivers on Feb. 7. Many clubs, such as New York City's Paladium, which last month drew a record crowd of 4,200 to its first lambada night, are offering free instruction by professional dancers. And dance studios across the continent are quickly adding lambada classes to their Latin collections of tango, mambo and salsa.

Like these other dances, lambada may prove to be only a craze in the minds of those able to master its moves. Lucinda de Oliveira of the Montreal-based Lambadista troupe, which offers nightly demonstrations at Alexandre, says that lambada's scope—particularly its ostentatious hip movements—are more difficult than they look. She added, "The hips are not a part of their bodies that many North Americans are

used to moving." Some instructors also warn that other moves, including the deep backbends, are potentially dangerous and that novices should not attempt them. But the biggest obstacle to lambada's success in North America might be the dance's unbridled sexuality. Sed de Oliveira: "It's such a close, intimate dance that some people will have trouble with it." And even at Alexandre, where she says that 70 per cent of the customers accept invitations from Lambadista's rambunctious male and bare-chested male members to dance, the rule is slightly different.

Basically, the key dance still has not become popular in Brazil's fastest-growing metropolis, Rio de Janeiro, where it is considered a crude, rural dance. Kamika—a group that curiously includes musicians originally from Senegal in West Africa—and CBS Records hopes to change that, when the band tours Brazil in the spring. And with reports of its European and North American success, but the real home of modern lambada may rest with the music, a diverse blend of Latin and Afro-Caribbean styles, and whether a group like Kamika can prove itself to be more than a scintillating novelty. Lambada's promoters Kamikaz and Loriot may find that they have to share the rewards from their "Brazilian" hit with unsuspecting partners: they are being sued by two Belgian brothers who claim to have written the melody.

NICHOLAS JENNINGS



A Brazilian dance troupe in New York City (left, above and below); tropical





The Parliament Buildings in London: using even Margaret Thatcher to speak up

COMMUNICATIONS

A new public image

Television is changing British MPs' behavior

Throughout her long career, one of Margaret Thatcher's most potent weapons has been a piercing voice that cuts through the noise of political debate. But during the past several weeks, since television cameras began broadcasting the proceedings of Britain's venerable House of Commons, members of Parliament have found themselves at the unusual position of using the Prime Minister to speak up. In fact, Thatcher has lowered her voice so far that even the Commons Speaker, Bernard Weatherill, complained that he could not understand her. "She's one of the swiftest rebels, going the wrong way of age at the Labour Party," noted columnist Matthew Parris in *The Times*. "Her voice is now so soft that you can only just hear her."

Both her allies and her foes conceded that Thatcher has consciously toned down her public style in order to present a better TV image. And her reticent behavior is in fact one of the changes brought about since TV cameras began broadcasting from the Commons on Nov. 21. Now, many MPs are drawing better, getting their hair cut more often—and they are

generally being more polite to each other during debates. Despite dire warnings from traditionalists that TV would encourage rowdy behavior and ruin the staid atmosphere of the chamber, most observers say that TV has actually improved the politicians' performance. Said Guy Cumberbatch, an astute psychologist at Aston University in Birmingham who is studying the impact of TV on the Commons: "It does seem that MPs are better behaved, at least so far."

Britain's Commons has traditionally resisted the use of TV. Although it is arguably the most famous chamber of democracy in the world, the seven-century-old Commons is also a deeply conservative club whose members have always been suspicious of outsiders. Other major legislatures here for many years accepted TV as a routine part of their proceedings. Japan's parliament began regular broadcasts as long ago as 1925. Canada's House of Commons adopted TV cameras in 1971 and even Britain's House of Lords allowed cameras into the chamber in 1985 without apparent ill effects. But the British Commons rejected TV right times before finally accepting it by 313 votes to

356 in February, 1988.

After that, a committee of MPs examined how others had successfully handled the presence of TV. They paid particular attention to Ottawa, but concluded that the rules there, which allow the cameras to show only the Speaker or the member who is addressing the House, were "unfairly restrictive." As a result, the personnel operating the eight remote-controlled cameras installed in the Commons chamber are allowed to show a greater variety of shots than is permitted by the Canadian rules.

At the same time, though, the British broadcasters face other problems. Unlike Canadian MPs, who sit at their own desks in the Commons, most British members do not have assigned seats or the green benches that lend their chambers. When they are called on to speak, they can appear almost anywhere, forcing camera operators to hunt frantically for them in order to focus their cameras in the right place.

Despite these initial reservations, British MPs quickly adjusted to the requirements of TV. Some of their extended speeches, run by private consulting firms aimed at reaching them the tricks of looking better on TV. One London agency, called Colour Me Beautiful, offered drying sessions for about \$300. Many MPs began to pay more attention to their appearance. Even some politicians with doubts about the whole exercise acknowledge that it has changed their habits. Roger Gale, a Conservative backbencher who has been critical of the way the Commons has been televised, said he has given up wearing striped shirts, which tend to shimmer on TV. "I went out and bought four plain blue shirts," he said in an interview.

Officially, TV has been allowed inside the Commons for only a one-month trial period at a cost of about \$2.2 million (shared equally between broadcasters and Parliament) who are scheduled to vote by the end of July on making it a permanent feature at Westminster. Few observers doubt that they will decide to keep the cameras. Commons TV has proved popular with the public, attracting audiences as big as one million for Thatcher's twice-weekly appearances to answer questions from the opposition. And even one of the most determined opponents of parliamentary TV, Conservative MP Ian Goss, acknowledged that he will almost certainly be a member when the vote is taken. "In my view, it just encourages members to behave like dogs and gangsters," Goss declared in an interview. "But the fact is that most people like to see us on TV." That alone may well guarantee that the politicians will vote to keep it.

ANDREW PHILLIPS in London

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AN AUTHOR'S FEAR OF FALLING

American writer *Brian Jung* says that the huge success of her first novel, *The 1973 Fear of Flying*, has caused her much grief over the years. "People think you should expect or want your best success," said the author, adding that she was "wondering" about whether her recently released sixth novel, *Any Woman's Blame*, would meet public expectations. It has in Canada, where it is already a best-seller. *Solids* relieved Jung. "I started out with a book that sold 10 million copies and I have had that as a gigantic milestone around my neck ever since."



Darré seducing a diabolical doctor

NIGHT CHILLS

French actress *Lydia Darré* says that she did not get much beauty sleep during the making of *Black Relations*, a newly released Canadian black-comedy horror movie. The 35-year-old former model plays a gold digger who seduces her way into a diabolical doctor, played by Canadian *Jon Rabus*, as well as his son. Darré says that the was so frightened by the plot that it gave her nightmares. "I often dreamed that *Jon Rabus* was trying to kill me," said the Los Angeles resident. "Which is silly because he is really so sweet!" Added Darré: "It would be nice to do a comedy next."

Playing tough

After *Tom Hanks*, described by movie directors such as *David Byrne* as one of Hollywood's most "humile" stars, is now planning on acting unbecomingly using The 33-year-old *Hank*, *Crit*, director recently won the role of arrogant and supercilious *Shirley McCon* in the movie version of *Tom Wolfe's* best-selling 1980 novel, *The Bonfire of the Vanities*. According to Hollywood gossip writers, director *Brian De Palma* chose the star of the 1980 comedy *Big* over Oscar winner *William Hurt* to play the self-styled "master of the sarcasm" who eventually falls from grace. *Hanks*, who first won fame for his portrayal of a man-made's withdrawn boyfriend in the 1981 comedy *Splash*, has just finished acting in a multi-millioned businessman in the comedy *The Holmes*, scheduled for a spring release. Now, after making 13 movies in six years, it seems that *Hanks* is ready to play up his ego.



Hanks: master of the sarcasm

ROYAL POPULARITY CONTEST

Although *Sarah*, the Duchess of York, is known as a fun-loving, spirited royal, most Britons say that they have little desire to meet her, according to a recent opinion poll. A nationwide survey for *The Sunday Times* of London, put her name per cent of the 1,073 adult respondents and that they would want to meet the 36-year-old duchess. Still, *Sarah*, whose second child is due in March, is slightly more popular than her husband, *Prince Andrew*, 29—only seven per cent wanted to meet him. Indeed, most Britons, it seems, do not believe that either the couple or *Prince Edward* and 20, the least popular member of the Royal Family, are good company. One-third said that the young blue bloods "do not know how to behave." Indeed, the behavior of the entire family came in for raised eyebrows—only 23 per cent said that they believed that the royals had "high moral standards." The results may give the royalists a double shock, but undoubtedly *Queen Elizabeth* it is not unusual.



Sarah not knowing 'how to behave'

Surviving the changing times

Scientist *David Suzuki* says that, over the past 30 years, the CBC TV science series *The Nature of Things* has evolved into a less "gentle" heart. "I used to look at the beauty of nature, but now much of that beauty is gone," added *Suzuki*, who has hosted the show since 1973. He says that this week's 30th-anniversary show, like other recent episodes, will warn of threats to the environment, and he added, "We can no longer afford to be naive."

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PHOTOGRAPHY

Shooting stars

A Canadian artist creates classic images

If Douglas Kirkland kept a diary of his professional life, it would read like an extended cult history. For the past three decades, the Canadian-born photographer has specialized in shooting the stars—especially the most alluring women in the movies. His subjects have included Elizabeth Taylor, Sophia Loren and Brigitte Bardot. In 1962, when he was 27, *Look* magazine assigned him to shoot Marilyn Monroe, then Hollywood's reigning siren. "I remember that white sages, alone, that was Marilyn," said the still-boyish-looking photographer. "She was friendly, but there was more sexuality flowing from her. She asked everyone to leave the room—she said it worked better that way. It was Doug Kirkland from Fort Erie, Ont., and Marilyn Monroe under a silk sheet, which would periodically blow off." Kirkland insists that Monroe invited him to pose her in bed. "I was very aroused, but I didn't," he said. "I was like a photographer."

The result of that assignment was a classic photo series of Monroe discreetly but sensually covered by the white sheet. More recently, the silver-haired Kirkland has shot Melanie Lynskey, Kathleen Turner and Kelly McGillis—

Grey's International Center of Photography, where they will be on display until Feb. 28. The book and exhibition demonstrate how, over 30 years, Kirkland has retained a unique style—an ability to capture something of his subject's personality while making her, or him, look ravishing. "And that is a talent," says actress Brigitte Bardot, one of Kirkland's recent subjects, "because let's say, when we get ready, we get real ugly."

Last week, Maclean's spoke to Kirkland in his bright, airy studio, which is adjacent to the spacious Hollywood Hills bungalow where he lives with his second wife and business manager, Françoise, 48. He had been preparing for a session with British actress Rachel Ward. Her new movie, *After Dark*, My Sweet, is scheduled for a summer release, and the distributors wanted some eye-catching publicity photographs. Kirkland took time out to reminisce about his career—and to dispense the current state of celebrity photography.

In the old days, Kirkland said, he could get to know his subjects well. He would spend days or weeks with them, eating, talking and, even, Kirkland hoped, occasionally having affairs. "We



THE NEW YORK TIMES



Monroe in 1961 (far left); Ann Margaret in 1969 (left); Loren in 1972; Nicholson, in 1975 (below) eating, talking and even, possibly, having affairs with the celebrities

pen taking pictures before he cracked his joints, developing film in a waterbath downstairs in his bedroom closet. Photography was one of the few things that he could do well. "I was the biggest, dumbest kid," he said. He discovered later that he suffers from dyslexia, a disability that makes reading difficult. After studying photography at a Buffalo, N.Y., high school, he went to work at *The Evening Tribune* in Wilkand, Ont., near Fort Erie. "I shot tea parties, lots of tea parties, sporting events," he recalled.

In 1960, Kirkland, then responsible for a wife and two children, got his first big break when *New York-based Look* magazine hired him. He soon learned it to be permanent. A year after joining the publication's staff, he was assigned to shoot a reluctant Elizabeth Taylor. "I said, 'Thank you, do you know what it would mean to my career to take a photograph of you?' She thought about it, looked up and said, 'Okay.' " He got the cover of *Look*.

Yet Kirkland says that he would like to be known as more than a celebrity photographer. He is currently preparing another book that will include portraits of physicians, astronauts, windfalls and street people. "The type of photographs a photographer would show his friends," he said. For Douglas Kirkland, it is the art of photography, and not the fame of the subject matter, that really counts.

PATRICIA DEBURY with ANNE GREGG in Los Angeles

Kirkland: a unique talent



were striving in the Sixties to tell it as it was and show it as a photograph," he recalled. In 1965, he travelled to Mexico to spend several weeks shooting Brigitte Bardot and Jeanne Moreau, who were there filming *For Marnie*.

On a few occasions, he and Bardot indulged in some late-night carousing. The photographer describes her as "a very playful thing—always a party," but his interaction with celebrities has not always been idyllic. In 1968, he asked Swedish-born actress Ann-Margret to pose on a Las Vegas hotel balcony.

"She leaned over a little faster, and I saw a strange look come over her," he said. "She talked about the Swedish

invariable one being the highest in the world. I reached out and grabbed her."

Now, however, Kirkland can rarely get enough time with his subjects. In fact, he says that he is lucky to get one day, and his studio is often filled with press agents who routinely cancel their clients' photos. After taking pictures for 45 days during the filming of *Out of Africa*, starring Meryl Streep and Robert Redford, only 30 of his images were approved for publication. The rest were destroyed.

Kirkland's obsession with photography began early on. The son of Morley Kirkland, who owned a tailor shop, and his wife, Evelyn, Kirkland be-



Photo taken by Douglas Kirkland

FILMS

Women on the edge

Two tragic French stories reach the screen

They both died in 1943. One of the last women to be executed in France, Marie-Louise Gaudet was guillotined for collecting shortwave. Three months later, writer Camille Claudel, the abandoned mistress of sculptor Auguste Rodin, died at 18 of natural causes after spending 30 years imprisoned in an insane asylum. Her crime was madness, the result of unrequited love and interminable genius. Generations apart, Gaudet and Claudel belonged to different worlds. But both women were punished for defying male society and asserting their independence. Now, they are the subjects of two highly acclaimed French movies being released in North America. *Story of Women* is an intimate and profoundly affecting psychological drama in which Isabelle Huppert portrays Marie-Louise, a character clearly based on Gaudet, with suffering realism. Camille Claudel is a handsome but overwrought epic, a romantic melodrama featuring Isabelle Adjani as a

beautiful and helpless victim. Incredibly decanted by veteran film-maker Claude Chabrol, *Story of Women* has been named Best Foreign Film by both the New York City and Los Angeles film associations. Chabrol's depiction of Lataur is shrewdly ambiguous—unflattering and sympathetic at the same time. Her motives for performing abortions have little to do with compassion or principle. She is simply a pragmatic opportunist who needs the money and enjoys the freedom that it buys. Lataur is a feminist because only by defying which makes her martyrdom all the more harrowing.

The story begins in 1941. A mother of two

children, Lataur lives in a grim apartment in a small town near Dege, where she struggles to survive on the proceeds of her knitting and dreams of becoming a singer. She becomes an amateur shortwave after receiving her neighbor's neighbor taking a casual bath—a primitive attempt to end a pregnancy. Lataur's intrigue is not much more sophisticated, but it works. And she is delighted when the neighbor rewards her with the gift of a photograph. Unconsciously, her soldier husband, Paul (François Clavier), comes home from the war. He is a defeated man with no future, and Lataur resents his presence. As their marriage crumbles, her secret solace turns into a lucrative venture.

She finds a soul mate in a provincial named Lucie (Marie Trintignant), who agrees to pass her name on to working girls with unwanted pregnancies. And soon, Lataur is able to move her family into some spacious quarters. She even rents Lucie a spare room where she can entertain her clients. Meanwhile, she takes on a lover who turns out to be a Nazi collaborator.

Occasionally, Lataur has moral qualms about shortwave, but her desires are fierce. She is just another entrepreneur in the black-market, made of occupied France. In the end, *Story of Women* is not really about



Huppert: guillotined

shortwave—now covered by French health care—but about the lingering shadow of the Occupation. Lataur becomes a scapegoat for a collaborationist government presiding over a shattered nation. After her arrest, a fellow prisoner spells out the hypocrisy: "How could men understand?" she asks. "They spend the war sitting at their ease, then they pick one woman out of the line."

Camille Claudel is another attempt to reduce the dignity of a woman recognized by history. Until recent years, Claudel was regarded as a colorful footnote in Rodin's spectacular career. But recently, she has been recognized not just as poet, model and mistress of Rodin, but also as a gifted sculptor in her own right. Two years ago, a major exhibition of her work toured Japan and the United States. And now, the Rodin Museum in Paris is creating a Claudel gallery. The movie came about after Adjani bought the rights to a 1984 biography, *Camille Claudel*, 1864-1943, written by Claudel's grandniece, Rene-Maria Pons. Adjani's passion for the role is obvious in every frame of her performance. A dramatic



Adjani: passionate as a beautiful, helpless victim

opening scene shows Claudel as a sculpture student voraciously digging mud from the clay walls of a deep trench in Paris and hugging it in a caress to her studio. As a final blow, "Mad as a hatter!" her Claudel. So is known. Shared by the unspoken Rodin (Gérard Depardieu) as an apprentice, she is torn between her

infatuation with him and a bold desire to pursue her own art free from his influence. Although she has been worried about Rodin's womanizing ways, she cannot resist him.

Three months later, Rodin refuses to marry her and remains loyal to Rose Beuret, his longtime mistress and mother of his son. Pregnant with Rodin's child, Claudel has an abortion and ends the relationship. But as she resumes her work, she remains obsessed with him. Increasingly disturbed, she imagines that Rodin is secretly conspiring to ruin her career. So, under medical supervision, she is betrayed by her beloved brother, Paul, who becomes a successful poet. Ultimately, Claudel's anger turns inward, into self-destructive madness.

The long at two hours and 29 minutes, Claudel offers a pretty full gendered journey into despair. The camera dives on Adjani, who has exquisite screen presence. But her beauty is sometimes a handicap. Towards the end, as various characters comment on Claudel's deterioration, she still looks like a model trying to rough up her looks with makeup. Cinematographer Bruno Nuytens makes a shaky dramatic debut, but his images are aggressive. Claudel draws a fascinating contrast between the survey because of Rodin's sculpture and the interior power of Claudel. The film-maker clearly sides with his heroine. Still, the style of his well-matched melodrama owes more to Rodin than to the woman who went crazy trying to escape his shadow.

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A series explores the meaning of hockey

KEN DRYDEN'S HOME GAME

(CBC, Sundays, 8 p.m.)

Among the most evocative images in Ken Dryden's *Home Game*, a five-part CBC documentary series which starts on Feb. 6, is a brief, dreamlike, MacGuffin-like scene showing shadowy figures with sticks skating across a frozen pond. It is one of the earliest action-stance images of hockey, from a film that was shot in 1936. And to screen writer and host Ken Dryden, it holds special significance: "That game, that winter scene is in me," remarks the former Montreal Canadiens goaltender "Tin Canister." Hockey, unquestionably, is part of Canada's cultural landscape, and *Home Game* seeks an ambitious strategy to comb that terrain for clues to understanding the archedrope of the sport. Although the result does not always prove satisfying, the program's accessible accounts compensate for those occasions when its shots fly wide of the mark.

The series centers about the same ground as *Home Game's* recently published companion book, co-written by Dryden and journalist Roy MacGregor. Dryden asserts that hockey in Canada serves as a bond drawing individuals and communities together—and that it is an important function in a country where east and diversity tend to isolate and separate people. Over the course of *Home Game's* six hours, Dryden and producer-director Peter Porron introduce viewers to many members of the vast congregation of the hockey faithful, including its stars past and present, wealthy franchise owners, devoted fans and dedicated hockey parents ferrying their children to Saturday-morning pee-wee matches.

The scope of the series is impressive. One episode chronicles the 1964 deal that sent Wayne Gretzky from the Edmonton Oilers to the Los Angeles Kings and critically examines the various cold, calculated variables of pecking sports in North American audiences. In another segment, Dryden and crew visit the Soviet Union to observe firsthand the intricacies of the Soviet hockey system.

Much of *Home Game's* strength lies in its multiplicity of voices and opinions. Broadcasting the nationalistic passion that flared during the now-legendary 1972 Canada Series series, former Boston Bruins star Phil Esposito would like to be only half joking when he says that he would have killed to win. In one scene, contemporary Soviet star Vladimir Petrov, now playing for the NHL's New Jersey Devils, lightly denounces the accident, unbridled

strategic Soviet hockey system and compares the regime of his former coach, Viktor Tikhonov, to the Stalin era.

Some of the most striking observations, however, come from hockey professionals, but from those for whom the game is simply a living romance. Saskatchewan-born novelist Guy Vanderhaeghe, 35, speaks fondly of his casual Sunday-night games with friends, a



Gretzky (right), breaking Gordie Howe's scoring record: the drama of the game

weekly ritual that allows him to relive his boyhood fantasies for a few hours. Says Vanderhaeghe: "I still remember drama that I'm playing hockey, and that I can play it well."

Most hockey fans, watching a game from distant stands or on a television screen, see only the ebullience and flow of action and the occasional spectacular play. By contrast, *Home Game* gets close enough to reveal some of the human drama beneath the surface of the game. In the first and strongest episode, *More Players*, the film-makers dissect a typical two-game season by season. With splendid level-headed photography and some imaginative use of split-screen techniques, they manage to convey both the player's perspective as well as spectators' reactions. Occasionally, the camera captures a piece of on-ice slapstick, such as the Montreal Canadiens' curious pre-game ritual

of puking, ships and tips. But there are also poignant moments, as a last-ditch empty-net goal by the Edmonton Oilers collapses in failure, the camera catches then-coach Glen Sather's crushing disappointment.

Not all of the series is as effective, however. Dryden is a thoughtful and elegant writer, as he first demonstrated in his 1983 book, *The Game*, a personal view of his life in hockey. But as a host, he is a stiff and occasionally pompous presence. Much of his narration sounds abstruse and overwrought, so if Dryden and Porron felt reluctant simply to let the pictures tell some of the story. When Dryden, over footage of the Oilers after their 1984 Stanley Cup victory, laments Gretzky and his genial, whooping teammates to "pretend to come back from the dead," the metaphor seems redundant—and a little silly. Worse, the film-makers described far too many scenes in Eric Robertson's gravelly, sophisticated-heavy musical score, as if trying to whip viewers into an emotional fever.



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Demonstrators and South African security forces: wounds cannot be easily healed

BOOKS

Heart of darkness

An Afrikaner cries for his beloved country

MY TRAITOR'S HEART

By Alex Mokebe
(Little Brown Canada, 340 pages, \$24.95)

Any day now, one of the world's most celebrated political prisoners, Alex Mokebe, will be set free—after serving 28 years of a life sentence for what the South African authorities chose to term "treason." Sometime later this year, Mokebe will sit at Parliament and as one team in negotiations on South Africa's future. The white opposition, based in London, fears, will sit down with the advocates of the apartheid regime that put Mokebe away for life. But any thought of a peaceful transition to a new South Africa is discouraged by journalist Alex Mokebe's bleak, angry and passionately evoked book, *My Traitor's Heart* (3). It is a sharp corrective to optimism.

True, a kind of *glasnost* has come to South Africa: the old emboldened of apartheid have been officially discarded, and the ANC has indicated that, when Mokebe arrives, it is willing to talk with the government about the future. But 35-year-old Mokebe, the rebellious son of a prominent Afrikaner family, makes it achingly clear that South Africa's wounds cannot be easily cured. He argues that the ancestral and mutual fear and hatred between blacks and whites—and the social, economic and, above all, cultural abyss between them—cannot be

solved by good intentions alone. Even these liberal South African whites who support black aspirations cannot cross the racial barrier, Mokebe contends, because nobody in "except from the law of genetic complicity." He continues: "When the chips were down... and the killing started, there were no whites on the black side of the barricades. None. Ever."

Mokebe says that he has learned those whom he calls "the mad scientists of apartheid" since adolescence. He left home in 1977 to avoid being conscripted and turned up in Los Angeles in 1979. "I was because I wouldn't carry a gun for apartheid," he writes, "and because I wouldn't carry a gun against it." The author returned to South Africa in 1985 to work as an anti-apartheid work based on the history of his family. His great-uncle, Daniel F. Mokebe, was the first National Party prime minister in 1948 and one of the architects of apartheid. *My Traitor's Heart* does, in fact, begin with a look at the author's forebears, but—as good books do—it quickly takes on a life of its own. Having long ago abandoned what he calls "the glass-bottomed boat" of his privileged suburban upbringing, Mokebe dives down through layers of brutal passion to seek the truth about his own tribe and the whites, Xhosa and others whom they conquered and subjugated.

Of his Afrikaner ancestors, he writes, "They spoke of themselves as bearers of the light, but in truth they were dark of heart, and they knew it, and willed it so." Of the blacks, he adds: "I was scared of them, and yet I loved them... One minute, you'd be harassed with guns and

beating internally for your suffering black brethren. The next, you'd crawl to home from the things they did."

Mokebe appears to believe that his country's problems exist at a level inaccessible to politics, economics or social engineering. And he makes his case not by means of conventional reporting or thoughtful analysis, but by giving the background to some of the crime stories that he came across as a police reporter for the Johannesburg daily *The Star* in the mid-1970s. Those crimes show to what brutal depths whites' racism and fear, and blacks' anger and superstition, can reduce human beings. They include the killing to death of an innocent black Christian by a white policeman, the kidnapping to death of a number of sleeping whites by a black car rider nicknamed "The Hammer," and the torture and slaughter of blacks by blacks in township factional fighting.

Despite the heat of his prose, Mokebe has produced a strikingly objective book. With equal force, he denounces his fellow Afrikaners (and, by implication, their Anglo fellow travellers), lays bare the urgency of which victims are capable and reveals the well-intentioned liberals with their Western political-economic constraints. That does not make for encouraging reading, perhaps least of all for the anti-apartheid lobbyists to whom, as Mokebe says, "any acknowledgment of differing cultural values threatens to sound like an oblique argument in apartheid's favor." But it does make for a book that significantly expands understanding of Mokebe's lovely, tragic land.

JOHN BIERMAN

Maclean's

BEST-SELLER LIST

FICTION

- 1 *Violence*, J. G. Ballard (1)
- 2 *Solomon Gundy*, John Updike, Rickard (1)
- 3 *Presumed a Punishment*, Joe (1)
- 4 *Confessions*, Michael (1)
- 5 *Seven Days*, Douglas (1)
- 6 *The Bad News*, Kimm (1)
- 7 *According to John*, and the K&L, (1)
- 8 *Raymond's Blues*, Jay (1)
- 9 *The Dark Half*, Ray (1)
- 10 *The Storyline*, Peter (1)

NONFICTION

- 1 *Dances on the Beach*, Lawrence (1)
- 2 *Inventing the Future*, Smith (1)
- 3 *Home Games*, Doyle and McGee (1)
- 4 *Other Lovers*, Douglas (1)
- 5 *A Wonderful Day*, Gould (1)
- 6 *My Prison*, Jerry (1)
- 7 *On the Edge*, Kimm (1)
- 8 *Birth of a Family*, Kimm (1)
- 9 *Magnum 2000*, Kimm (1)
- 10 *Journal of Amie*, Wilson (1)

11 *Portrait last week*

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- 3) Canada's New Goods and Services Tax: Boon or Bane?
- 4) The Future of Canadian Federalism

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Write a review of a film, a book or a TV program of your choice.

CATEGORY III: POINT-COUNTERPOINT

Write an opinion piece agreeing or disagreeing with the arguments presented by a Maclean's columnist in a recent column.

CATEGORY IV: PROFILE

Write a profile of a celebrity, a political figure, or someone you know.

CONTEST RULES

- The 1990 Diane Thompson Student Writing Contest is open to all students under the age of 22, registered full or part time in a secondary school program in Canada. Employees and their family members or agents of Maclean's, Reader Service, Education Division, and faculty members of the CCTE's executive board are not eligible.

- Submissions must not exceed 1,000 words and must be typewritten, double-spaced and stapled to the upper left-hand corner. Handwritten entries and those illegibly typed will not be judged.

- A covering sheet must be stapled on the front of each entry listing the student's name, address, telephone number, age and grade as well as the school name and address (eligibility verified) and teacher's name.

- Entries are restricted to one submission per student.

- All entries must be the original unpublished writing of the student and may not be copied by teachers or other adults. Student teachers submitted exclusively to the 1990 Diane Thompson Student Writing Contest. All entries become the property of Maclean's In-Class Program.

- Receipt of submissions will be acknowledged only if a stamped self-addressed envelope is enclosed with the entry. PLEASE KEEP A COPY OF YOUR SUBMISSION. Manuscripts will not be returned.

DEADLINE: Entries must be postmarked no later than February 28, 1990.

MAIL TO: Maclean's In-Class Program Writing Contest, 777 Bay Street, 30th Floor, Toronto, Ontario M5W 1A7

JUDGING: Criteria for evaluation of submissions will include: originality, clarity of thought and presentation, consistency and accuracy, effective style and use of language, and suitability for publication.

The judging panel includes Maclean's Editor Kerna Doyle, Maclean's In-Class Program's representatives, and Canadian Council of Teachers of English (CCTE) representatives. Judging will be shared by the CCTE.

CONTEST RESULTS

Only winners will be notified by mail in May 1990. Depending on space availability and suitability for publication, the first place paper may be published in Maclean's during the summer of 1990. The judging committee reserves the right not to accept any of the pieces if the quality of the submissions is deemed unsatisfactory.

For more information on the Writing Contest or Maclean's In-Class Program, please call (416) 596-1499 or 596-5541.

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Black ties, running shoes and gossip

BY ALLAN FOTHERINGHAM

There's nothing about Ottawa, as you know, is that it suffers from a surplus of talk. Talk and paper are the only products produced by the town that has forgotten. Verbal fulfillees ensue like city like a thick layer of icing. Chaps who couldn't attract a crowd to a church basement in Ottawa are allowed to stand on their hind legs in the House of Commons and make on chicken vehicles to announce that forces even they best friends to retire to their offices to watch Oprah on the square eye. The whole capital suffers from slack lips.

What you perhaps don't know is that—because of the above—Ottawa tries to hear intelligent talk. People are willing to pay \$100 a plate for their expense accounts and to listen to Canadians who can actually string together a full sentence containing a verb and a non-verb adjective. Few members of the Tory taskforce for cabinet can apply.

The occasion for this rare outbreak of English-as-it-is-spoken is the annual luncheon dinner by the Writers' Development Trust, a (famous) organization dedicated to raising funds for indigent authors who cry in their drudge report submission and a lacy touch of gas. They're the now-famous evening last year, when celebrated critic Neil Larry Ziff sat down to talk and what seemed like several days later, was driven from the stage by a hurricane of wildly waving white napkins, spouted off by suspects who cannot be named for fear of prosecution.

This evening was decorous, even sedate—perhaps due to the absence of Richard Hatfield. Even Ziff did not return for his revenge. The banquet was an alleged debate between Jack Pickens, Charles Ritchie, John Fraser and Hughie Segal on whether Canada had solved a "golden age" of politics and diplomacy in some distant past about the 1940s, when even Slim Pickens was not dormant.

The pithy Pickens, at 84, still evades the playful Liberal arguments that has so much to his party through this century. He is the author of the statement that a Conservative government is something like modern-



you get it once in a lifetime and that's enough. Former Canadian ambassador Ritchie, at 83, has the appearance of a colander and a tongue with the energy of a teenager. Fraser, the magazine who is editor of *Saturday Night*, is the second-best guest at Canada Segal, with the right counterpane of a yonked Alfred Hitchcock and the sociability of Evelyn Waugh, is a walking advertisement for the Tory equivalent of Goli's arrogance.

The gathering in the gift extravaganza of the Ottawa Literary Institute, attracts most everyone in Ottawa distal to be accused of not being able to afford \$100. Chapeau. Camp has crashed in from Jamaica, N.B. Bernard O'Leary, who has never met a black tie dinner he didn't like, peeks through his lens Franklin glasses—the case that to among the robes when Fraser Maloney wears them. Pickens, wry, of course, that the Golden Age ended when John DeLoebler came to power.

Fraser refers to his address on stage as "two views of the old Dominion" and describes Pickens' (accidentally) as "the grand support master" of Liberal regimes past. He tells the throng, "I am the only one you can trust" since the others are hopeless persons and therefore he is equivalent to the sole July LaMotte played in a shrewd DeLoebler campaign—"the Truth Squad." The most sensibly presented lady in attendance is Pierrette Lucas, Mike Maloney's friend, who in Ottawa's chief of protocol, Ritchie, describing the present-day external affairs department, quoted Sam Goldwyn: "They've improved it worse."

Senator Finlay MacDonald, with a Saskatchewan leucism on his arm, is unconsciously subdued. Ritchie says External Affairs is somewhat like Alice in Wonderland: "Jan, yesterday and Jan tomorrow but never Jan today." The beautiful young wife of an ambassador wanders

by Ottawa, which neither with groups, does not have a decent gossip column. Her costume can only cling in equal wonderment. Hughie Segal is telling the audience how "Maclean's King, as we know, played on part whatsoever in World War Two."

Sandra Gwyn has flown in from London. Clark Dwyer, in the end how far he has been wearing since 1950, has come all the way from The Ottawa Citizen. Ritchie, the star turn of the evening in the burlesque dinner he brought in 1950, is explaining that External was definitely not neglected during the Dief days. External Affairs Minister Howard Green, "on meeting the West German defence minister, Mr. Strauss, confided to me later that it was the first German he had ever met, since he killed every one who was in the First World War."

Moderator Robert MacNeil, the *Bolton* native, *Bolton* wordsmith of the MacNeil's *Lester Kohn* House, after a long, nutty and shrewd introduction to proceedings, seems absolutely bemused on stumbling on the playful degree of speech by four lines of it—he is now reading in the lead of Dan Quigley. Dana Piter lacks trouble. New C.O. chairman Patrick Watson, 10 years after Woody Allen pioneered it, wears white running shoes with his gloves. We still retain huge for him.

Pickens, in maintaining that the Golden Age ended with Lubomir, Segal says the first Golden Age started in 1944 and is waving ever onward. Fraser says the Golden Age is whenever you happen to be in power, the most stirring testament of the evening.

Seven visitors wear short skirts, which are sure a political statement. I guess you had to be there.



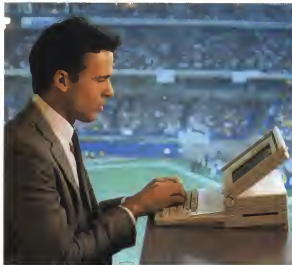
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